NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

L. MARIA CHILD, Editor. | Without Concealment-----Without Compromise. | DAVID LEE CHILD, Assistant Editor.

VOLUME II. | NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 17, 1842. | NUMBER 41.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY,
BY THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
At 143, Nassau street, New-York.

Oliver Johnson, General Agent:

☞ To whom all remittances are to be made, and all letters addressed, relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper.

☞ Letters relating to the editorial department should be addressed to L. MARIA CHILD.

TERMS.—$2,00 a year, in advance; $2,50 if not paid within six months.

☞ $10,00, in advance, will pay for SIX copies for one year, sent to one address.

☞ TWENTY copies, or more, will be sent to one address, at $1,50 each.

☞ Subscribers can remit money without expense by observing the following rule of the Post Office Department:—"A Postmaster may enclose money in a letter to the publisher of a newspaper, to pay the subscription of a third person, and frank the letter, if written by himself."

OLIVER JOHNSON, PRINTER.

The Standard.

From the New-York American.

THE CREOLE CASE AND MR. WEBSTER'S DESPATCH.

Those who shall carefully read this despatch, will, we think, be struck with the want of that force and precision, both of thought and expression, which so eminently characterize the usual style of Mr. Webster.

We cannot but look upon this as indicative of the want of confidence in the grounds he felt obliged to assume, and in his own conclusions.

The very first paragraph, describing the condition of the Creole, illustrates this remark; and we refer to it the rather for the sake of vindicating it from a reproach to which it seems liable, but which, as appears from the punctuation, and from a subsequent paragraph, is not well founded:

"The brig Creole, of Richmond, Virginia, &c. &c. with a cargo of merchandise, principally tobacco, and slaves, about 135 in number."

The first impression here is, that the tobacco *and* slaves are included under the general term of "merchandise;" and we have received for publication a very indignant comment on such an abuse of language, by such a man as Mr. Webster; but the meaning, though not immediately obvious, clearly is, that the "merchandise" was "principally tobacco," and that over and above the merchandise, there were 135 slaves; and this version is confirmed by a subsequent paragraph, where the distinction is thus expressly taken: "The Creole was passing from one port of the United States to another, in a voyage perfectly lawful, with merchandise on board, *and also with slaves.*"

Another evidence of want of care and precision, is to be found in the assertion, broadly made, that, instead of the assistance which ordinary comity and hospitality required from the authorities at Nassau, "to enable the captain of the Creole to resume and prosecute his voyage, and bring the offenders to justice, not only did the authorities give no aid for *any* such purpose, but they did actually interfere to set the slaves free," &c.

Now, it had been stated previously, in the opening part of the despatch, that, "at the request of the American consul, the governor ordered a guard on board, to prevent the escape of the mutineers, and with a view to the investigation of the case—that such investigation was accordingly made by two British magistrates—that an examination also took place by the consul—and that on the report of the magistrates, nineteen of the slaves were imprisoned by the local authorities, as having been concerned in the mutiny and murder." Their surrender to the consul, to be sent to the United States, was, to be sure, refused, until the home government could be consulted; but was not enough done to show how entirely unfounded is the declaration, that the authorities gave "no aid for *any* purpose?"

But again: It is in one place made matter of reproach that the authorities at Nassau did not sufficiently interfere to reinstate the captain in command, and reduce the revolted slaves to subjection; and in another place it is contended that, "according to the principles of national intercourse, it was neither the duty nor within the power of the British authorities to inquire at all into the condition of the persons on board the Creole." It seems to be the aim of these parts of the despatch to prove, that although the law and comity of nations forbade any interference in favor of justice, humanity, and freedom, they enjoined and required all aid and succor in riveting the galling chains of slavery: an ambidextrous argument, of which one portion nullifies the other.

Not less loose and inconclusive is the illustration that follows:

"Suppose an American vessel, with slaves lawfully on board, were to be captured by a British cruiser, as belonging to some belligerent, while the United States were at peace; suppose such prize carried into England, and the neutrality of the vessel fully made out in the proceedings in admiralty, and a restoration consequently decreed—in such case, must not the slaves be restored exactly in the condition in which they were when the capture was made? Would any one contend that the fact of their having been carried into England by force, set them free?"

Certainly not, *if carried in by the act of England;* and that just makes the distinction between the case supposed, and the actual case of the Creole. Neither nations nor individuals can be permitted to take advantage of their own wrong to avoid the responsibilities thereby incurred; and in the case put by the despatch, the restoration of the vessel and slaves, or an equivalent compensation for the latter must be made—not *because* the comity of nations or the laws of England recognize slavery, but *because* both the comity and law of nations were violated by the capture of the ship and those on board.

Even in such a case, however, the writ of *habeas corpus*, if applied for while the captured vessel was still in an English port, would assuredly liberate every slave on board, leaving it to the government to pay in money the damages occasioned by the unlawful capture. The law of England is the law of freedom, and it bends neither to policy nor power.

More unfortunate still, under the circumstances, is the illustration we next quote:

"Suppose that by the law of England all blacks were slaves, and incapable of any other condition; if persons of that color, free in the United States, should, in attempting to pass from one port to another in their own country, be thrown by stress of weather within British jurisdiction, and there detained for an hour or a day, would it be reasonable that British authority should be made to act upon their condition, and to make them slaves?"

Not to dwell upon the unfairness in argument of supposing such an extreme case—nor upon the unbecomingness in the first minister of a republic of adducing, as against liberty, such a violent assumption,—we answer by quoting the law of South Carolina, which does, in contravention of the Constitution of the United States, and of the universal law of justice, *treat all colored persons* arrived by sea in her ports—not only as slaves, but as felons, and shuts them up in prison at the expense of, while useless to, the vessels in which they arrived!

Here we have the very case. South Carolina does practically consider all colored persons as slaves—and under that plea reduces to bondage and imprisonment—none the less real, while they last, for being temporary,—not only persons free by the laws of other States of the Union, but free-born Englishmen or Frenchmen.

With such a fact in his mind, how could Mr. Webster venture upon such an illustration?

We shall not, of course, be understood as contending that an unlawful act on our side can justify unlawful acts on the other—but simply as adducing the South Carolina case to show how open to a retort in kind is the case supposed by the despatch.

Most objectionable of all is the last illustration which we proceed to quote:

"Or suppose that an article of merchandise, opium, for instance, should be declared by the laws of the United States to be a nuisance, a poison—a thing in which no property could lawfully exist or be asserted; and suppose that an English ship, with such a cargo on board, bound from one English port to another, should be driven by stress of weather, or by mutiny of the crew, into the ports of the United States, would it be held just and reasonable, that such cargo should receive its character from American law, and be thrown overboard and destroyed by the American authorities?"

The taste, not less than the policy, of selecting *opium* as the article of merchandise by which the fate of that of flesh and blood known as *slaves*, is to be tested, at this particular juncture, may well be questioned.

The sneer implied—if not intended—by such an illustration should have been avoided. We well remember, and Mr. Webster cannot be ignorant, how deep and universal were the sense of insult and desire of revenge produced in American hearts by Mr. Canning's sneers at the "bit of striped bunting flying at the mast-head of a few fire frigates." Still less is Mr. Webster—accomplished as he is in all knowledge that belongs to his eminent station—unaware of the disastrous influence upon more than one occasion during Mr. Canning's brilliant public career, of his irresistable propensity to diplomatic epigrams.

Not such are the arms that become the great powers of Daniel Webster—not such the aid that a just and honest cause require.

But what shall we say of the attempt to determine the case of human beings, with souls immortal as our own—with like hopes, feelings, passions, capacities and responsibilities—by the law applicable to certain bales of goods?

In the former part of this paper, we have vindicated the language of the despatch from the appearance, and it is an appearance only—of classing slaves as merchandise—but here there is no room for any such interpretation. They are, in this supposed case, put precisely upon the footing of merchandise, of bales of opium—and with no claim to other consideration, other rules of law, other rights, or remedies, than so much inert dead matter.

And this brings us naturally to an examination of the terms "mutineer and murderer," used so frequently in this despatch, and without any apparent hesitation or distrust as to their accuracy. We take issue upon these terms, and deny that the revolters of the Creole were in any just sense "mutineers or murderers." By the law of that portion of the United States from which they sailed—a law which they had no share in framing, and to which they had never assented—they were slaves; but they were so only by coercion. While within the country, all the power thereof must, if needed, have been employed to keep them in slavery, or punish them for insurrection; because that is the constitutional charter by which we, the people of United States, have bound ourselves.

But this provision of our charter must, as against liberty, be construed with the utmost strictness; and no more or greater extension be given to it, than the letter of the law will warrant. Slavery being a local institution—though protected *within its sphere* by the general law—it may be doubted whether this general law could be properly extended to its protection beyond the point where the local law would cease to be operative. For instance: the Constitution of the United States recognizes and upholds slavery in Virginia; but if the owner of slaves in Virginia, for any purpose of his own, hazards them beyond the jurisdiction of the State and of the United States, to wit: on the high seas—he by his own act seems to put them out of the protection of our laws.

It is no answer to this to say, that an American ship is for certain purposes to be deemed and taken as an extension only of the American territory; and with all she carries still, even on the high seas, under American laws. This as a general proposition is true, but, like all general propositions, liable to exception; and the exception here is precisely the case of slaves. Their mixed character of property and persons constitutes the ground of the exception. In fact and in truth they are human beings, men and women—like ourselves—and not bushels of wheat or hogsheads of tobacco. The law which regards them as such—as chattels, property—is local, not general; limited not universal—while the law which defines and guarantees merchandise properly so called, is comprehensive and every where accepted and obeyed.

Hence, then, when slaves, by the act of their owners, are taken out of the jurisdiction of the local law, and of the general law, as in confirmation—*but not in extension*—of the local law, they must be kept in slavery, if kept at all, by superior physical force; and resistance of that force on their part, even unto death, cannot be called mutiny or murder—because they are violating no law by such resistance, but on the contrary vindicating their natural freedom—the gift of God alike to all.

When, therefore, Mr. Webster characterizes the successful revolt of the slaves of the Creole as "one of the highest offenses known to human law"—and when those slaves who in bursting their galling fetters, and with arms conquering their freedom, restrained themselves within the least possible degree of violence, spared woman and childhood, and did nothing in vengeance or cruelty, are by a consummate master of language and of law called "mutineers and murderers," we confess our utter amazement, our unfeigned sorrow.

That the son of a New-England soldier of freedom, a disciple of the New-England common schools, a patriot whose heart has been warmed in contemplation of the "rebel" fields of Bunker-Hill and Lexington, an American whose gushing affections for "his own, his native land," have lent to his eloquence a fervor and an earnestness that have made, and while the language lasts, will make it, for every youthful and ingenuous bosom, as the voice of the trumpet to the war-horse,—that such a man, so endowed, so trusted, should by any exigencies of official station, permit himself to be forced into the adoption of language and opinions such as are here animadverted on, does indeed seem to us to afford a lamentable illustration of the fallibility of human judgment.

In our next we shall refer to certain decisions of British tribunals, and to opinions expressed in our country, that have a direct bearing on this question.

SPEECH OF MR. ARNOLD, OF TENNESSEE,

In Defense of Mr. Adams, on the floor of Congress.

The following speech has been crowded out of our columns by the pressure of important public documents; but we think best to give it, even at this late hour:

For the crime of presenting a petition with such an object in view, the House was to put on record against him a charge of aiding in high treason, and in suborning the members of that House to the commission of perjury; and he was to consider it as a great favor that the House did not expel him, but contented itself with giving him a reprimand. He should like to witness the spectacle. He should like to see that gentleman standing at the bar, with his palsied hand, his bare head, and whitened locks, to be rebuked by the speaker, comparatively a mere boy, after having been visited with the vituperation and vindictive persecution of another, as much a boy, in comparison. What a spectacle! Mr. Arnold, turned from the thought with loathing and disgust, and so would the nation. So far from helping the cause of the South, it would kindle up against her a blaze high as the very Heavens. He was against it—utterly and totally against it—from principle and policy too.

Now, there was a little fact which had come to his knowledge, and which he wanted to state on this matter. He was told that the leading man among the signers of that treasonable petition was a man, who ran on the locofoco ticket as a candidate for the senate of Massachusetts. The man was a disunionist; that very fact probably had constituted one of the reasons why the whigs refused him. This fact showed the villany of the farce which it was here attempted to play. Who were the men that were thirsting for the blood of the gentleman from Massachusetts, and crying out "Crucify, crucify?" They were the political associates of the very man who had headed this petition. Who was he? His name was Nathan Webster, no relation of Daniel; although as to Daniel himself Mr. Arnold did not know exactly how he was now figuring before the nation. He greatly feared that he would turn out a real New Hampshire man; and that was but another name for *a man who loved office more than he loved his country.* Daniel, however, had at least this praise, that he had never set himself against this Union. And now what was the House going to do? To punish the gentleman from Massachusetts for presenting here a petition, which their own political friends had sent to him. Was this a proof that he wanted the Union dissolved? If it proved any thing, it proved that the political friends of gentlemen here were enemies of the Union. All the gentleman from Massachusetts desired was to have an opportunity of replying to these petitioners; and, if he once got that opportunity, Mr. Arnold would become security that Mr. Nathan Webster would never send another such petition here.

What a farce was this whole matter of the 21st rule! What a perfect failure! The House had been more perplexed with it than it would have been without it; because, from the nature of the case, no rule could be adopted that would not have that effect. Gentlemen might as well attempt to dam up the waters of Niagara, as to attempt to stay this right of petition. It was one of the inherent rights of the free people of this country, and a right they never would surrender. If the House refused to hear some of their petitions, and admitted others, it was equivalent to telling the people that they were not able to judge what petition it was proper to send; and if one less than a majority might rule, and the number might be reduced till at last it was brought down to one, we had an admitted despotism. And, after all, what had the South gained by the rule? Its only effect was to combine with abolitionists all the multitudes who contended for the right of petition. It gained them converts by the hundred, by the thousand. It exasperated the mind of the people, disgusted them with their government, made them care less and less for the Union, and prepared them for its dissolution. The free States had now a majority of fourty-four in that House. Under the new census they would have fifty-three. The cause of the slaveholding States was getting weaker and weaker, and what were they to do? Gentlemen preached to them that they must rely on the modern democracy of the North. God deliver them from such an alliance! A gentleman from New Hampshire had called that State the Switzerland of America; and he spoke truly, for her inhabitants were *Swiss.* [A laugh.] They always fought for those who paid most. There was but one way to keep their friendship, and that was to bait them well with offices. Those who depended on such allies, trusted to a broken staff; they trod upon ground covered with deceitful ashes. As soon as the South should attempt to do justice between man and man, these mercenary Swiss would instantly desert them; aye, and would be ready to turn round and aid the blacks in cutting their throats.

Mr. Arnold was ready to concede the right of petition, but he never would yield the right to interfere with slavery within the States, where it had been recognized by the Constitution. This had been done in three distinct articles of that sacred covenant. The South stood upon her rights, and insisted upon being "let alone." If they had a cancer which was eating into their vitals, they did not want the northern probe rudely thrust in, to take what little life they had left. All such interference only riveted the chains of the slave. The North might enrich their fields with blood, and consume their dwellings with conflagration, but forcible emancipation never would be submitted to so long as life and breath remained. A political and civil equality between whites and blacks never could be established in those States. The thought of it was vain; slavery was their misfortune, not their crime. It was here and how was it to be gotton rid of? The northern remedies were worse than the disease. Did gentlemen suppose that southern men would ever suffer their daughters to be the associates of Quashipompo or enter into alliance with negro husbands? Did they themselves desire to sit in this House cheek-by-jowl with a woolly headed member, who needed no musk to give him perfume? He had confidence in his northern brethren; he could not believe they wanted to invade the South and help the slaves to cut the throats of their wives and children. They could not desire to see the flames of their habitations quenched by human blood.

His friend before him [Mr. Slade] was said to be an abolitionist; but he had lived six months in the same house with him, ten years ago, and had been on familiar terms with him, and never had heard the subject of abolition mentioned. Would that man lend his aid in effecting such a result? No: it was contrary to the Christian religion—it was against all the better feelings of our nature. The pretext for opposing slavery was a Christian feeling of humanity; and could humanity, could Christianity, lead men to abet insurrection, devastation, and bloodshed? Mr. A. had supported a northern President, and that when the billows of Jacksonism were rolling in a flood over the land. He had voted for a Massachusetts man in spite of every thing; and now he turned to the North, and said to his northern brethren, "Let us alone." He was willing to receive their petitions under the Constitution: they must be willing to surrender up fugitive slaves, and to resist servile war, under the provisions of the same sacred instrument.

And now he would add one word to his southern friends. He would ask them what the South had to rely on if the Union were dissolved? Suppose the dissolution could be peaceably effected, (if that did not involve a contradiction in terms,) what had the South to depend upon? All the crowned heads were against her. *A million of slaves were ready to rise and strike for freedom at the first tap of the drum.* They were cut loose from their friends at the North—[friends that ought to be; and without them the South has no friends]—whither were they to look for protection? How were they to sustain an assault from England or France, with that cancer at their vitals? The more the South reflected, the more clearly she must see that she had a deep and vital interest in maintaining the Union.

Mr. A. had been gratified to hear the farewell address of the father of his country read in that Hall. He loved to hear it. He had ever made Washington his model; considering as he did that purity and integrity were the two leading virtues of his character; and he had ever believed that purity and integrity were above wisdom and tact.

The young gentleman from Virginia had told the House that he was not descended from the aristocracy of the land; neither had Mr. Ar. As a celebrated democratic orator in a certain western legislature had said, when defending Captain Tyler, "he was descended from the pilgrim family that landed on Plymouth Rock, in the Old Dominion, commonly called the State of Virginia." His father had been no federalist, but a Jeffersonian democrat. He would as lief have been called a mad dog, as called a federalist. At the very sound of the word he laid his hand on his broad-axe. He must say that he thought his young friend had been particularly unfortunate, as a friend to the philosopher of Monticello, in alluding to his "domestic relations." None were without their foibles, and Mr. Jefferson had his; but no friend of his memory acted prudently in referring to that part of his character. Mr. A. here related some anecdotes of own early history, illustrative of his father's attachment to Mr. Jefferson's fame; and then related the particulars of a visit he had made to Mount Vernon, the feelings of solemn veneration with which he had been led through apartments once familiar to General Washington, and the effect of a solitary visit to his tomb, where Mr. A. had solemnly vowed, in the presence of God and of the ashes of that departed sage and hero, to make his principles the guide of his life. Nor had he ever broken his vow. He afterwards made a similar visit to Monticello; and, in inquiring in the vicinity as to the private character and deportment of Mr. Jefferson, had become abundantly satisfied that the lovers of his fame would do prudently in never alluding again to his "domestic relations."

This led him to speak of the condition of Virginia, which he compared to the ruins of ancient Thebes, on which nothing was to be seen but the vulture, or the carrion crow, and at whose base no inhabitants were to be found but the fox and the jackal. She could boast of having given birth to some of the greatest of mankind. Her's were the names of Washington, and Jefferson, and Madison, and Marshall; but there, with a few bright exceptions, her boast must for the present stop.

Before he resumed his seat, he must be allowed one word to his young friend from Virginia. That gentleman was quite ferocious towards abolitionists; but who were his own allies at this moment in the other end of the Capitol?

In Ohio, there had once been a man who was familiarly called Ben Tappan, a brother to the great abolitionist of that name in the North—to that Arthur Tappan, who had, by the power of his money, recently gotten up an abolition convention, and nominated a governor, president, and vice president; and had appointed emissaries to advise the negroes of the South to run away, burn their masters' houses, and cut their throats. Now, with regard to this Benjamin Tappan, with whom the gentleman was now in intimate alliance, it was very commonly said, and universally believed in Ohio, that he had openly declared, that if he stood on the northern bank of the Ohio and saw across the river the slaves burning the plantations and cutting the throats of women and children, he would fold his arms, and not lift a finger to stop the massacre; and that if his son attempted to go to the rescue of the unfortunate whites, he would disinherit him. And yet a man, who could act in concert with a blood-thirsty wretch like this, could get up here and lecture that house on abolition; and if men from the South would not agree with him, and go the entire length that he did, they were to be denounced by some Clement C. Clay, or by the gentleman himself, as abolitionists; while at the same moment, he could take to his bosom one who had avowed feelings so odious and damnable?

Mr. A. here alluding to the late hour and the fatigued condition of the House, said that he thought it quite time to close this debate, and with a view to do so, he would move to lay the whole subject on the table.

At this moment many gentleman rose to their feet, desirous to address the Chair; and the remonstrances were so loud and numerous, that Mr. Arnold said that he would not set himself up in opposition to the wishes of the House, and should not, therefore, insist upon his motion.

J. Q. ADAMS.

In reply to charges of severity brought against him, this brave old disciple of freedom remarked:

In the course of this long, and to me most painful trial, among other charges in the papers, and which have been countenanced, in some respects by those who profess to be my friends, it is said that I have given ground to this persecution by the acrimony with which I have attempted to defend myself against it. Now, I do not know whether there be a member of this House who, if he had one of these mad dogs, which the mayor of Washington has proscribed by proclamation, coming at him "full butt," would put his hand upon his head, and, patting it, would say to him, in a very gentle tone, "my good fellow, pray don't hurt me." For my part, if I should find a rabid animal, like that, at the very point of biting me, and putting into the wound some of that slaver which kills, I should be very apt to use against him some instrument stronger than my bare hand, and make some demonstration a little more hostile than *patting* his head.

If there be no palliation—I do not say justification, for I put myself in this upon the indulgence of the House—for any improper acrimony in my words, directed as they have been against men whom I consider as hunting me with a fury far beyond that of any mad dog—with a fury beyond that of the bloodhounds who were brought from Cuba to throttle the Florida Indians—I throw myself upon the indulgence of this House. I ask the House to consider my position; and, in indulgence to human frailty, to overlook the use of terms which may be unsuited, not to those who are attacking me, but for me to use.

From the Rochester Democrat.

THE RIGHT OF PETITION.

The following correspondence between the committee, appointed by the late meeting held in this city, upon the subject of the right of petition, and Hon. John Quincy Adams, will be read with interest by our citizens, and not only with interest, but *veneration*, for the noble sentiment contained in the reply of the ex-President.

LETTER TO JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

ROCHESTER, Monroe co., N. Y., Feb. 9, 1842.

Hon. John Quincy Adams:

Sir—At a numerous meeting, last evening, of citizens of this city, of all political parties, resolutions, a copy of which is annexed, were unanimously adopted.

In pursuance of the second resolution, we, in the name and behalf of the citizens of Rochester, composing the meeting, tender you their thanks, for your patriotic and persevering efforts in Congress, in defense of the right of petition; and we request you to accept the same, as an expression of their confidence in your patriotism and rectitude.

We regret that your motion to refer the Haverhill petition to a select committee, with instructions to report reasons against it, was not sustained; because in certain parts of the United States, and by certain members of Congress, the dissolution of the Union has been so often threatened, that the occasion requires an able defender of the Union—showing its importance and value to the several parts, and to the whole of our country, and to the cause of freedom itself. Had your motion been sustained, we trust that a report, containing such a defense, would have been made, and that it would have silenced threats of disunion.

Respectfully yours,
THOMAS KEMPSHALL,
WALTER S. GRIFFITH,
JOHN HAWKS,
E. POMEROY,
P. G. BUCHAN.

Resolved, That the right of petition is invaluable, and is indispensable to the preservation of civil liberty, and being guarantied by the Constitution, it *must and shall* be maintained.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be tendered to John Quincy Adams, for his patriotic and persevering efforts in Congress, in defense of the right of petition, and that the same be communicated to him, by the officers of the meeting.

Resolved, That the undignified and threatening language and conduct of certain members of Congress in hostility to the right of petition, are highly derogatory to our national character and institutions, and deserve the severest reprehension.

REPLY OF MR. ADAMS.

Thomas Kempshall, Walter S. Griffith, John Hawks, E. Pomeroy, and P. G. Buchan, Esqs., Officers of a Meeting of Citizens of the City of Rochester, in the State of New-York, held on the 8th of February, 1842.

WASHINGTON, 16th February, 1842.

Fellow Citizens:—I have received with deep and grateful sensibility your letter of the 9th inst., together with a copy of three resolutions adopted on the preceding evening, at a meeting of citizens of Rochester.

The Constitution of the United States expressly provides that Congress shall pass no law ABRIDGING the freedom of speech or of the press; or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

It must be perfectly obvious to every one that the interdict upon Congress to *abridge* the freedom of speech and of the press, and the right of petition, applies, if possible, with double force to each separate branch of the legislative power; and that neither the Senate nor House of Representatives of the United States, can refuse or evade the *reception* of petitions, without *abridging* the freedom of speech, of the press, and the right of petition; for the freedom of the press, and the right of petition themselves, are but modifications of the freedom of speech.

The Constitution has prescribed no limitation or restriction upon the right of the people to petition, with regard to the object prayed for. The legislative power can prescribe no such limitation or restriction, without *abridging* the right. Every refusal to receive is an abridgment of the right. That right is co-extensive with the redress of *grievances*—of what is felt as grievance, the sufferer is, and in the nature of things must be, the exclusive judge. The wisest of men has said, "the heart knoweth *its own bitterness*, and a stranger intermeddleth not with its joys." The power of each House to reject the prayer of a petitioner is discretionary, but not arbitrary—and it is amply sufficient to protect them from the annoyance of unreasonable, unjust, or impertinent petitions. The petitioner is not bound to know, whether the prayer of his petition is within the competency of the legislature to grant or not. That is within the judgment of the body itself, and the want of power to grant, is a decisive reason for refusing to grant, but not for refusing to receive. Any indication of violence, indecency, menace or insult, upon the body addressed, or upon any of its members, under color of a petition, is a sufficient reason for the refusal to receive; and I am aware of no other, that can be exercised without *abridgment* of the right.

The duty of a member of the legislative body to *present*, is, in my opinion, co-extensive with that of the body to *receive* petitions; and these are the principles upon which I have invariably exercised the right, and performed the duty, of presenting the petitions to the body of which I am a member, entrusted to me by the petitioners.

It is known to you that within the last seven years, rules have been adopted by the House of Representatives of the United States, under which *thousands* of petitions, all coming from the free and northern States, have been refused to be received—that thousands of others have been debarred from a hearing and consideration, by the notable device of any one southern member objecting to the reception, and moving to lay his objection upon the table, which of course carries the petition with it—that the unpardonable offense which I have committed has been to resist, to the extent of my right, as a representative of the people, the establishment of these rules, and the pursuit of this practice; and to persist, in defiance of numberless threats of assassination from without, and of expulsion and the penitentiary from within, to present every petition committed to my charge, couched in respectful language, and praying for the redress of grievances.

The last desperate attempt in the House, not only to abridge, but utterly to annihilate the freedom of speech and of the press, and the exercise of the right of petition, by the people of the free States, is that monstrous conspiracy, the extent and purposes of which have been partially detected and exposed, in the course of my recent trial, upon charges of high treason, subornation of perjury, and other enormous crimes—FOR PRESENTING A PETITION.

In that emergency, formidable only by the combination of conflicting masses of power against *me*, as the representative of the first principles of freedom in the House, your generous sympathy, and that of the citizens of Rochester, in whose name you have addressed me, was a cheering consolation, even before the hour of my deliverance. It cheers me still amid the persecution, hitherto baffled, but not yet extinguished; and will remain as an inheritance to my children, and an unfailing augury of the final triumph of the cause in which I suffer, should it require, in the progress of the conflict, the sacrifice even of my life.

Receive, again, for yourselves and your constituents, the thanks of your friend and fellow-citizen,
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

From the Philanthropist.

THE UNION.

We would to heaven mere party papers would let sacred things alone. They scarcely ever touch them, but to make political capital out of them. Many of our party editors are mere political gamblers, and they deal with great public questions, as the gambler uses his cards. Who of the editors that have lately raised a clamor about the Haverhill petition, believes Mr. Adams desires the dissolution of the Union? Not one. Who of them imagines that there is the most distant danger to the Union? Not one. But every thing is fair in politics. They were dumb—all of them—deaf and dumb, when Rhett, a member of Congress, came out boldly, with a proposition to dissolve the Union. Their patriotic ardor has never been kindled, by the threats of southern men on the floor of Congress to dissolve the Union. O, no! these were their fast friends and allies. But, when the great champion of the right of petition, simply presents a petition for a dissolution, though he accompanies it by the expression of his disapprobation—whew! how these patriots thunder and lighten. "Traitor! incendiary! *Censure*, DISGRACE, EXPEL him!" Such is the clamor. And for what? Because, true to his oath of office, he presented a petition, whose prayer he condemned—presented a petition for that, which the allies of these unexampled patriots have again and again threatened, without exciting a ripple of indignation!

A word about the *Union*. Is it to be viewed as a *means*, or an *end?* As a *means*—a means "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty, to ourselves and our posterity." Suppose it should fail of securing these ends; he would be a fool, that should advocate it a moment longer. Should the Union become destructive of personal rights, the man that should strive to perpetuate it, would be a traitor to the principles of the Declaration of Independence. It is nonsense to tell free-born American citizens, that they are not to calculate the value of the Union. To neglect to calculate the value of any or every institution among them, is an offense against reason and common sense. Calculate the value of the Union, and if it is all it is said to be, you will revere it; not as the devotee, who, in the excess of his idolatry, throws himself under the wheels of Juggernaut; but with the profound regard of a man, who never bows his manhood to public opinion or tradition, who scorns to take any thing on trust, who never yields his affection, till his own reason has convinced him that the object is worthy. Idolatry, under any form whatever, is a degradation of the Deity in man.

For one, we love the Union, but we love liberty more; and should the time ever arrive, when the former should become destructive of the latter, we should as certainly seek its overthrow, as, believing that liberty is now best secured by the Union, we are zealous in its support.

No class of men is more attached to the Union than abolitionists, and yet none has had more reason to be alienated. Of what special benefit is the Union, to that citizen of a free State, whose opinions on the subject of slavery would cause him to be lynched, should he travel into a slave State? What protection did it afford to C. T. Torrey, a free citizen of the United States, cast into jail for attempting to report the proceedings of a slaveholders' convention? What power is there in the Union, when it cannot save certain of the citizens of Massachusetts, from being sold as slaves under the laws of Alabama?

And yet we love the Union; it is our defense against foreign aggression—it is our security against domestic wars—it affords protection to our citizens generally, and it will be a blessing and an honor to all, when that element of mischief, that perverter of right, that curse of curses, *slavery*, shall cease to exist among us.

From the New-York American.

THE UNION.

We do not know how others may be affected by the scenes of the last few days at Washington, but, we confess, they affect us with profound melancholy.

It must be obvious to the most careless observer, that the horror which used to thrill through all sound hearts, at the bare mention of disunion, can no longer be excited. We have heard so much and so often from the South—upon the slightest occasions—of threats of separation, of calculating the value of the Union, and of the South's ability to exist by herself, and for herself—that the North has been forced, as it were, to reflect upon what would be the issue of such a breaking up of our Republic; and, sooth to say, reflection has brought the conviction to very, very many minds, that if calculations of sectional interests, or sectional pride and power, must determine this great political and social problem—the North—the free States—the agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial States—would gain power, wealth and importance, by cutting loose from the weaker and dependent South, now admitted to an equality with them.

This conviction of reason, moreover, is, in some ardent minds, exasperated almost into a passionate desire, by the insolence and intolerance of the slave representation in Congress.

It is to feelings of this sort, that we are to ascribe in part the petition presented by Mr. Adams, which has occasioned the violent debate in the House, asking for a dissolution of the Union, rather than longer submission to unequal, oppressive, overbearing legislation, dictated by southern interests, and carried by the cohesion of the common bond of slavery.

And what was thus formally embodied by these petitioners, is floating loosely and largely among the elements that go to make up public opinion in the North. Repulsed at first, because of the loyalty to the Union, which enters into the education and hopes, as it were, of every northern man—it comes again and again, at each successive manifestation of southern intolerance, to force an entrance, and at each attempt, finds resistance more and more feeble. It is this consideration—that at both extremities of the Union, attachment to the bond that makes us one people, is daily undermining—which saddens our heart.

We love the Union—and would stand by it at every risk, but that of being insulted and betrayed in its name—and therefore it is, we now say to the South: *Beware—you have taught us to calculate the value of the Union,* AND WE HAVE CALCULATED IT—*push us not to the conclusion.*

ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.

Watchmen on the Tower, be not found sleeping in your armor; while the enemy enters at the postern! Be wakeful and watchful.

We copy the following from the Washington correspondent of the New-York Evangelist:

The appointment of Waddy Thompson, of South Carolina, as Envoy Extraordinary to Mexico, I cannot view without alarm, in connection with other indications of a speedy and desperate struggle for the annexation of Texas to this Union, for which this "terrible, *very* terrible!" man, is a prominent advocate. The project is now before the Congress of Texas. It is favored by the administration party here; by most of the southern men, and by many northern democrats, for party's sake. I believe nothing will prevent this disaster, but such a struggle as was made four years ago. The friends of freedom will not disregard the warning, nor be blinded by the artful course the advocates of the scheme are now pursuing. It is the last opportunity slaveholders have to preserve their control over the government of the country. The new apportionment, and the admission of Iowa and Wiskonsan, next session, will leave them in a hopeless minority, especially, as Delaware is no longer to be considered as a slave State. Her representative always votes with the North, on every question affecting freedom. I am no professional alarmist. Peace is an element of my nature. But I do dread the result, if freemen of the North allow Texas, with her slavery, to be fastened upon us, by their neglect of duty.

PRISONS OF NEW ORLEANS.

We extract the following from the Report of the Grand Jury for the Parishes of Orleans, Plaquemines, and Jefferson, to the Hon. J. F. Canonge, Judge of the Criminal Court:

The police prison of the first municipality, under the management of Mr. Planchard, is kept in most excellent order and condition, as regards cleanliness, and attention to the health of the inmates, and generally deserves every commendation. We were gratified to find a part of this building allotted for an hospital, which is very well kept, and where the sick receive every care and attention that humanity calls for.

In this prison, our attention was attracted to several negroes, principally females, *who are detained from inability to prove their freedom; some more, some less, than from one to four years.* They, or most of them, represent themselves to be from other States of the Union; and name persons of respectability therein who can furnish proof of their being free, could they but find the means of informing such persons of their present situation. It then occurred to the members of the jury that it might be an act of charity, on the part of the mayor, to procure a weekly or other periodical report of such cases, accompanied with a statement from each party so committed; the truth of which he could ascertain by applying to the references given, either by correspondence or otherwise; then deal with the parties accordingly—for if these people are really free, and only require the means to establish their freedom, it would certainly not be a praiseworthy act to detain them incarcerated two years, then sell them as slaves, as the law provides for; whilst with a little trouble their freedom might be substantiated, and they sent back to the State to which they belong; and on this point we feel authorized to state that Mr. Planchard, the present keeper, is ready and willing to take any trouble that humanity and justice call for in such cases.

We must further crave the attention of the mayor to the case of an interesting mulatto girl, of from 3 to 4 years old. *This child was born in the police jail, where her mother died some time since, after some three years' confinement, or thereabouts.* What is to become of this poor child? What crime or misdemeanor has she committed? Is there no means by which she can be rescued from her present situation? We trust to the benevolence of our mayor to discover some that will procure the liberty of this child; and if none can be found in the laws extant, then in the name of humanity and justice, we claim the especial action of the legislature in this case.

The parish prison we found to deserve commendation, so far as the sheriff, his deputies and keepers are concerned.

But in other respects, there is much to be said against it; in the first place, the plan of the building itself is an unfortunate piece of misconception, and its erection a gross imposition on the good faith of the public. From what we have seen, and what has been reported to us by the sheriff, we are in duty bound to present the police jury (morally, at least, if we cannot do it legally) for a gross dereliction of duty, in allowing the establishment to go to ruin as they do. The floors, particularly in the parish prison, and almost all the wood work, are in a state of rapid decay; the iron covering the doors is disappearing by rust; the balconies in the upper stories, including the first from the ground floor, both in the criminals' and vagrants' yards, are not safe; they should be railed in with bannisters; camp beds should be provided for the prisoners; in which case nothing but blankets would be required, and the present bedding used could be dispensed with, as being only fit to generate vermin and disease, but for the care taken by the sheriff and his deputies to see that every room is kept clean.

The scene of degradation to be witnessed in this wretched place, is better felt than described, in more than one respect; if a school, and an efficient school, was intended for the acquirement of vices and crimes, the most disgusting as well as degrading to mankind, a better system could not be devised; humanity shudders and recoils at the conglomerated mixture of the delinquents under the sentence of law: there the person whose only guilt is an assault, is, despite of himself, mixed up with felons of every species; the youth who is imprisoned for petty larceny (his first offense, and, perhaps, his last) has every chance of association with the burglar and the night robber, and so on; it is true that the sheriff takes every possible care to room the prisoners in the best manner he can, to avoid contamination; still he cannot prevent it; for men have ears and eyes—and the evil passions of our frail nature are always foremost to yield to bad example.

The women, principally white, imprisoned in this jail, are of the lowest order, and most of them committed by the recorder of each municipality, for a term that varies from thirty days to six months; many have children, who must be thrown out in the streets, or follow their mother to jail, where they become a burden upon the sheriff, as we are informed the law does not provide for their maintenance; we think some provision ought to be made to meet this contingency; especially as their habits and morals are not likely to be improved in such company.

The police prison of the second municipality cannot be denounced, in too strong terms, to the reprobation of the public. The prisoners, principally black, are kept locked up in small rooms, by the dozen, with their night tubs by them, a great many without a blanket to lay on; although the keeper admitted that they were supplied to the establishment. The rooms are floored on the ground, six or eight inches below the level of the ground; are fil-

thy, full of vermin, several of them are not closed, having none but iron-railed doors and windows, thereby leaving the inmates exposed to the cold and wet.

Painful as it may be, it is nevertheless our duty, to present a series of malpractices connected with this prison:

There are men now in it, who have been there for months and years, without having had a hearing before the recorder; on our inquiring into the cause of this, the reply of the keeper was, "I don't know. The recorder receives regularly every morning a report of the prisoners, and orders before him those he thinks proper." *Others are detained from inability to prove their alledged freedom; being foreigners, and not having the means of producing such proof, they are kept in prison for years, without further notice;* to what good purpose, it is difficult for the jury to understand. Why are these people not sent out of the country forthwith, instead of being detained and made to become a burden upon the public?

That the public may judge by facts, we beg leave to report the following cases; merely remarking that the dates of their respective imprisonments are taken from the books of the prison, corroborating, in most instances, the report of the prisoners, who represent themselves as free persons:

No. 1. Augustin Smith, 18th August, 1840. This is a mulatto man; says he is a native of the Spanish Main; has never been brought before the recorder.

No. 2. John Harvey, imprisoned 24th April, 1839; a black—says his free papers have been taken to the recorder, by Mr. Jacob Barker, but he himself has never been before the recorder.

No. 3. Louis Polony, imprisoned 28th September, 1839; a griffe—says he is a native of Guadeloupe; came here in the American brig Lucy, from New-York; had his certificate of baptism on board, and lost the opportunity of producing it, the vessel having left the port shortly after; was never before the recorder.

No. 4. Charles Banks, a black; imprisoned 18th September, 1840; never before the recorder.

No. 5. John Buoyes; (called Burchett;) imprisoned 19th September, 1840; a free black, native of Nassau, N. P.; never taken before the recorder.

No. 6. Jeremiah Carroll, February, 1841; a black—says his case was investigated by the mayor, in whose hands his free papers now are; was taken up in the second municipality shortly after; never taken before the recorder.

No. 7. Solomon Mandlop, a black, imprisoned above a year; had been taken up in the first municipality, found here contrary to law, and discharged by the court, and subsequently taken up in the second municipality; never taken before the recorder.

No. 8. Wm. Wallace, a mulatto, imprisoned 22d January, 1839; never before the recorder.

No. 9. Francis Quin, a black, imprisoned 25th December, 1840; never before the recorder.

No. 10. Solomon Jones, an Indian, imprisoned 25th August, 1840; is a native of Philadelphia; his mother is an Indian; has been once before the recorder.

Most of these persons, and many others now confined, came to this port from different ports of the United States; and are all made to work in the chain-gang, as slaves.

All which is respectfully submitted.

CHALES J. DARON, Foreman.

New Orleans, Feb. 4, 1842.

THE FUGITIVE BILL, AND TRIAL BY JURY.

We copy the following from JUDGE JAY'S able pen, published a few years ago in a work entitled "The Rights of Colored Men," by William Yates. It will be read with peculiar interest at the present time, on account of its direct bearing on the late decision of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Argument of William Jay, on the question, *Is the act of Congress of 1793, relative to fugitives from labor, constitutional?*

The answer to this question must, of course, depend on the *power* giver to Congress by the constitution to pass the act alluded to.

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."—(See 10th *Amendment.*) Hence it is indisputable,

First, That Congress possess no power to legislate on the subject, unless such power is *delegated* by the Constitution; and

Secondly, That if such power is *not* delegated to Congress, nor prohibited to the States, it is *reserved* "to the States respectively."

The 3d clause of the 2d section of the 4th article is the only provision relating to this subject in the whole Constitution; and this clause *imposes obligations on the States*, but confers *no power* whatever on Congress. Hence the power of directing the mode in which *these* obligations shall be discharged, not being delegated to Congress, is reserved to the States.

There are *other* obligations imposed by the Constitution on the States, and, in several instances, the power of directing the mode in which they are to be discharged *is* delegated to Congress; and such *special* delegation evinces the conviction of the framers of the Constitution, that *without* such delegation the power could not be exercised by Congress.

For example, "The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature."—(*Art.* 1, *Sec.* 2.)

Here is a duty imposed on the States to elect representatives every second year; but this clause, of itself, gives no power to Congress to fix a day on which the election shall be held—to specify who shall hold the polls—to prescribe the proof the electors shall offer of the required qualifications.

Again,—"The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof for six years."—Here an obligation is imposed on the State legislatures, to elect two senators for six years; but Congress is not therefore authorized to direct whether they shall be elected by ballot, or *vive voce*—by the two houses separately, or by both in convention. The following express *delegation* of power would not have been made, had the power been conferred by the mere injunction of the States to elect representatives and senators. "The *times, places,* and *manner* of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress MAY, at any time, by law, make, or alter such regulations, *except* as to the place of choosing senators."—(*Sec.* 4.)

Once more, "Full faith and credit shall be given, in each State, to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State."—(*Art.* 4, *Sec.* 1.) Does this declaration, or covenant, invest Congress with power to dictate to our courts *how* such "acts," &c. shall be verified? Certainly not; for otherwise there would have been no necessity for the following delegation of power. "The Congress MAY, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof."

"A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime."—(*Art.* 4, *Sec.* 2.) Here again we have an obligation imposed on the States; but not followed, as in the above instances, with a delegation of power to prescribe the *mode* in which the obligation is to be discharged. Of course the power to prescribe what evidence shall be given that the alledged fugitive *is* charged with crime, how his identity shall be ascertained, and by what process he shall be arrested, and by what tribunal he shall be "delivered up," is, by the express terms of the Constitution, "reserved to the States respectively." The same remarks apply, with equal force, to the third clause of this same section, viz: "No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

The obligation here imposed on the States is certainly binding; but the act of Congress prescribing the *mode* in which the States shall fulfill this obligation, not being founded on any delegation of power, is, in my opinion, as certainly void. It is worthy of remark, that the legislature of New-York has disregarded the act of Congress, and has passed a law for the delivery of fugitives from labor in direct contravention of some of the provisions of the law of the United States. By the latter, a fugitive from labor may be delivered up by "*any* magistrate of a county, city, or town corporate," in which the fugitive is found. By the *New-York Revised Statutes*, this power is restricted to a small number of magistrates, excluding all justices of the peace, and all judges of the county courts, unless of the degree of counsellor of the supreme court. Other States, it is believed, have also disregarded the act of Congress, and specified the magistrates by whom the fugitive is to be delivered up; and two States have granted to the fugitive the privilege of trial by jury. In my opinion, however, the *mode of trial* prescribed by the act of Congress has nothing to do with the Constitutional question. Congress has no more right to enact that the fugitive shall be given up on the verdict of a jury, than on certificate of a justice of the peace.

Congress has no right to legislate on the subject.

SLAVERY IN CUBA—ENGLAND AND SPAIN.

The following note has been addressed by the British ambassador at Madrid to the Spanish government, relative to the slaves in the island of Cuba:

"BRITISH LEGATION IN SPAIN.
Madrid, Dec. 17, 1842.

"SIR—Notwithstanding that the traffic in slaves, under the flag of Spain, has considerably diminished, in virtue of the treaty of June 15, 1835, between Great Britain and Spain, nevertheless the dealers in slaves have hoisted *other colors* for the protection of their ships, by which means new importations of blacks from Africa have continued to supply the island of Cuba.

"It has been thought, in spite of this, that these abuses might be put a stop to, by conferring on the mixed commission, sitting at the Havana, the power to investigate the cases of the negroes existing at Havana in slavery; to declare whether they have been imported or not into the island subsequent to the 30th of October, 1820, and to decide whether the said negroes should be emancipated.

"With this object, her Majesty's government has prepared the draught of a convention, which I have been ordered to propose to the Spanish government.

"I some months since submitted a copy of the said convention to M. Perez de Castro, and his excellency promised me that the matter should be immediately taken into consideration.

"I have, therefore, the honor of now submitting to your excellency another copy of the draught of the above mentioned convention, the object of which I some time since explained to your excellency.

"Her most Catholic Majesty's government has invariably professed the same lively wishes as those which influence Great Britain, in co-operating in all the measures already proposed for the abolition of this abominable traffic; and, notwithstanding, it is an unquestionable fact, that instead of being lessened, or somewhat modified, in consequence of the restrictive measures heretofore adopted, the evil increases in the Spanish colonies; which position is unanswerably confirmed by the progressive increase of the slave population.

"In order to remedy this great abuse and violation of the existing treaties, it is proposed to confer on the mixed commission the power of enforcing the national law established to that effect, elevating it to a degree of sufficiency and vigor that shall place it in a condition to effectually destroy the evil; because, by preventing the demand for victims, their shipment from Africa will be checked. It is only necessary to convince the purchasers, as well as the owners of African slaves, that they cannot reckon on possessing their illegal acquisitions, with impunity, in order to prevent their continuing to employ their capital in this traffic, because they are no longer a commodity which can be offered for sale in the market. This is the only way of compelling people to abandon a traffic which can no longer yield advantages.

"All these objects will be attained by means of the stipulations in the proposed convention.

"It may, perhaps, be objected, that this convention might produce discontent, and even promote insurrection among those slaves, who, in consequence of the places of their birth, or the date of their importation, would have no claim to be emancipated: but in respect of said objection, should it be made, I must observe to your excellency, that, in the proposed convention, it is not intended to interfere with the creole population, or with such of the slaves as were introduced into the island previous to the 30th of October, 1820. Besides, the proceedings for declaring the emancipation of negroes are to be carried into effect individual by individual, and not by whole cargoes; by which means, the execution of the convention will, in reality, be much less alarming in its fatality, or in its individual importance, than the proceedings sanctioned by the already existing treaties.

"It is more than twenty years since the mixed commission sat at the Havana; during which period, frequent discussions have arisen, that have affected the liberty of whole cargoes of negroes, without there being a solitary instance wherein the captain-general of Cuba found fault with the proceedings; which circumstance leads to the supposition that the proposal for the extension of powers to the mixed commission may be acceded to, without risk or inconvenience.

"Whilst submitting all which to your excellency, I must add, that her Catholic Majesty will acquire great and lasting glory by consenting to the proposed convention, putting a term, by its means, to a practice that is repugnant to as well as contrary to humanity.

"I avail myself of this opportunity of renewing, &c. ARTHUR ASTON.

"His excellency, Don Joaquim Maria de Ferrer, &c."

TO THE MONTHLY MEETINGS,

Constituting Farmington Quarterly Meeting of Orthodox Friends, and to the Members of the same, generally.

One of the most vital testimonies taught by the Christian religion, and which the Society of Friends have always considered of distinguished importance, is not to partake of, nor countenance the sins of the people among whom we live. Heavy judgments were, of old, pronounced on the children of Israel who did so; and as they had received more light than other nations, their transgressions were more inexcusable. He that knew his Lord's will, and did it not, was to be beaten with many stripes. Even Tyre and Sidon were to be less severely judged, than some cities enjoying the privileges of the knowledge of the true religion.

The sin of enslaving immortal beings, and reducing them, as far as practicable, to the level of brutes, exists now in our country, to a degree and extent, rarely known among the most cruel nations of the earth; and its spirit pervades more or less, the whole land. It was against this sin, that the Society of Friends were long since called to bear a faithful testimony, even to the excluding of all from membership who were guilty of it, under whatever specious pretense or alledged motives, or whatever apparent kindness might be shown to its victims. This testimony, so long and so repeatedly borne, has been the means of creating in the minds of most of our members, in some degree, a just abhorrence of this dreadful iniquity.

The members of the Society of Friends, who formerly held slaves, it is believed, treated them in general with comparative lenity. But this was by no means considered an excuse for the sin. A most solemn question to us, now arises; Are there not, at this moment, slaves toiling for us, under the infliction of cruelties far greater than any our members were ever guilty of? Are we not directly hiring oppression, by purchasing its fruits? Are we not giving the slaveholder and overseer, the pay for which, chiefly, all this wrong and iniquity are committed? The original motive to slavery was the hope of gain,—the desire to obtain the profits of hard labor without paying for it, "keeping back the hire of the laborer by fraud." This is still the chief object in view, especially in those parts of the United States, where it exists in its severest forms. What greater encouragement, then, can we give it, than by paying the master and thus directly inciting this motive? If one person were knowingly the sole purchaser of all the productions of slavery, would he not be guilty as well as the slaveholder? How, then, can we avoid the sin, because many are the purchasers with us?

The Society of Friends has forbidden its members to deal in prize goods,—obtained by the plunder of vessels in war. Slave labor goods are obtained not less fraudulently, accompanied with the commission of no less enormities. Those who are robbed at sea, are deprived of their property only, their lives being rarely endangered, except in case of resistance; but the slaves are not only robbed of their earnings through life, but of their liberty, their families, and so far as can be done, of their hopes; and resistance is nearly always punished with cruel death. The far greater prevalence of slavery, and of its fruits which are every where around us, should urge us the more earnestly, to endeavor to avoid those fruits on all occasions. And as objections and difficulties are not admitted in excuse, in the case of prize goods, neither should we suffer them to deter us in ridding ourselves of the fruits of oppression.

We therefore urgently and affectionately entreat all our members not to suffer themselves to admit any discouragements, either from difficulties in supplying their wants with free goods, or from objections which are always made, with more or less plausibility, to what is right; but endeavor to adhere simply to this duty, and do what is in their power. There are articles, respecting which, doubts may exist; but such as are known to be, in all probability, the fruit of slavery, let us be careful to avoid, though we may have to pay a higher price for those of free origin. Free groceries are now easily obtained, and cottons may be had by applying for, when in market, or linen substituted. The sacrifice we may thus have to make, for the sake of clearing ourselves of this wrong, will, we doubt not, bring a blessing greater than that of the increase of earthly treasure.

Nor are we to overlook other ways in which we may partake of this evil but bear our testimony against it on every hand. When we consider the nature of the iniquity of slavery, opposed as it is to the spirit of Him, who has enjoined in the most solemn manner, our duties to him that is an-hungered, athirst, naked, a stranger, sick, and in prison, so often and so remarkably the condition of the poor slave; and that the Almighty who is just and equal in all his ways, has in all ages declared by His prophets, his abhorrence of oppression,—we cannot expect that he will show partiality in our favor, nor overlook our transgressions, while we continue knowingly to strengthen the hands of the oppressor, in whatever way it may be; whether by paying the slaveholder for his cruel exactions, or countenancing by the exercise of our suffrage, those who in a direct or indirect manner continue to legalize it.

If we thus endeavor, first to purge ourselves of all participance in this wrong, and next, to influence others to do likewise, in humility and fear, actuated by the love which is enjoined towards our fellow immortal beings, and which was compared by our Saviour to the love we should feel to the Lord our God;—then, may we not expect to be made partakers in some degree, of the spiritual blessings which were pronounced by the mouth of the prophet, to those who "draw out their soul to the hungry and afflicted, who undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free."

Signed by direction of Farmington Quarterly meeting of Friends, held at Farmington, 1st month 19th, 1842. SILAS CORNELL, SARAH M. CORNELL. } *Clerks.*

From the N. Y. American.

COLORED SEAMEN.

MR. EDITOR—It of course is well known to you that the legislature of Alabama have passed a law, to imprison all the colored seamen, that may arrive in the port of Mobile from sea, and to retain them, at the expense of the owners of the vessels to which they may belong, in prison, until the vessel is ready for departure.

Some inquiries having been made, by the writer of this, from an intelligent shipmaster, relative to the law, and the presumed reasons for passing it, he has given us the information, which we herewith communicate to you for publication.

The avowed reason for passing this law, was the alledged fear, that the colored seamen of the North, having experienced the blessings of freedom, might contaminate their slaves, and thus cause insurrections.

Ships bound to Mobile anchor off Cedar Point, distant 30 miles from the city, and in a wide, open roadstead. In almost every case, the boats are hoisted in, and no communication permitted by the masters with the city, except through passing steamboats, or return lighters. The colored portion of the crew are never permitted to go on shore, and the shipmasters have informed the authorities, that in case any colored seamen be found on shore, they would—however illegal to imprison a seaman, charged with no crime, except having a black skin—interpose no objections to his detention. This would seem to be sufficient to satisfy the people, or rather the mob of the city of Mobile.

The law further provides, that the marshal shall receive a fee of five dollars for taking, and five for retaining each colored seaman, which must be paid by the ship owner.

The present mayor of Mobile has hitherto refused attempting the execution of this law; and application having, it is stated, been made to the captain of one of our revenue cutters for assistance, he, *of course*, refused; consequently, no attempt has as yet been made to enforce this horribly unjust law; but the same interest from the city of Mobile, which was powerful enough to cause the passage of this law, will probably elect their own Mayor, and thus a collision will yet take place. Whether the British government will permit *their* free colored seamen to be forcibly taken from their ships, is yet to be seen; meanwhile the present Secretary of State for the United States, will have time to prepare an elaborate opinion, justifying the law in anticipation. After his published letter in the Creole case, he may as well be considered as the exponent of any ultra southern claim; the "necessity of the case," &c., may furnish him with arguments.

The "necessity" of this law is yet to be explained. It is the custom, in the bay of Mobile, for the crews of unemployed vessels to assist in loading the ships taking in cargoes; for this service they receive, or rather the loading ship is charged, at the rate of two dollars per day, one-half of which goes to the seamen employed; this is a service they are eager to perform—the extra pay furnishes them with their small stores. Now the whole purport of this law, is to break up the loading of ships by their crews, as far as possible, and to give to the slave owners of Mobile employment for their slaves, at high prices. The merchants and men of business, and the present city authorities, were opposed to it, but in vain.

It is seen by all men, that this great question of slavery must be met by the people of the North; it obtrudes itself every where; the spirit of slavery requires us to violate the trial by jury; under penalties known to be unconstitutional, menaces of dissolution of the Union have been again and again thrown out; and now the free colored citizens of the North are to be kept in prison, that the slave owners of Alabama may find profitable employment for their slaves. We shall yet meet this great question; and if our great statesmen of the North desert us in the hour of need, other and worthier leaders of the PEOPLE will not be wanting—one at least, though borne down with the weight of years, will leave a bright example of faithfulness to the cause of human freedom. B. J.

Communications.

EXTRACTS

From the Journal of James Munroe, Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

A short time ago I addressed a small audience in Lebanon, Ct. and endeavored to encourage abolitionists to persevere in their righteous enterprise. After I had finished, a Col. Wattles rose, and talked half an hour, without saying any thing. I cannot report his speech, for words I am not apt to remember; and ideas, he had none. I have a vague remembrance of his accusing Moses, and even God, of upholding slavery. His voice was strong, and his gesticulation alarming. I know not whether he thought himself engaged in a sham fight, at the head of his regiment, or addressing an audience of quiet citizens, on a peaceful, moral enterprise. His speech was decidedly beneficial to anti-slavery.

After meeting, I accepted the hospitalities of Friend Peckham, whose inviting residence has never been closed against the advocates of God's poor.

A few weeks after, I went to talk to the people of Bozrahville, from the passage of scripture, "Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish!" I spoke truth to them, with great freedom and plainness, in relation to the reforms of the day; endeavoring to point out the danger of fighting against God. My remarks were listened to with a degree of seriousness and attention which I could hardly have expected. A good degree of tender and conscientious feeling seems to rest upon the minds of the people. There is a large stone mill in this place, in which a majority of the inhabitants are engaged as operatives. They are very industrious, correct in their moral deportment, remarkably intelligent, and well informed in regard to the religious revolutions of the age. They are friends of anti-slavery, almost without exception; and appear to have found out, long ago, that the abolition reform is a warfare for the rights and happiness of the laboring man. They feel that the southern tyrant cares very little about the *color* of the man that hoes his cane, or holds the stirrup of his saddle, if he only manifest a *truckling* and *slavish* spirit. They are well aware that robbing the pockets and abridging the rights of the northern laborer, are nothing in the sight of those who are not ashamed to steal children, and whip women.

A laboring man said to me, the other day, "The northerners remind me of Chanticleer, in the story book, who, having become prejudiced against his brother, stood by with evident satisfaction, (even offering his assistance,) while a fox was devouring him. But when Reynard had finished his meal, licking the blood from his lips, he said to his helper, with an arch look, 'This fellow made me a good breakfast; and I think you would make me a good dinner.' So saying, he tore him limb from limb." This little fable seemed to me so appropriate, that I have since made use of it, on several occasions.

The people in this village were liberal; taking eight or ten Standards, and contributing quite generally upon the dollar plan; especially the factory girls. This class do not receive that respect from society to which their intelligence and virtue entitle them; but that is not strange. They work with their hands, and believe in universal freedom—*both* of which are unpopular in *republican* America. The slave's murmur of wretchedness can't get into our handsome parlors. Poverty don't even know how to pull the bell at the front door. It dare not tarnish the shining knocker with its rustic hands. It is afraid of the great white house, with pillars before it. It goes along the street, and utters its voice to the blacksmith, and the farmer, and the factory girl. The *factory* girl has obtained her bread by the sweat of her brow; and her industry has made her heart grow large enough to warm the world in it. God bless the factory laborers of Connecticut! The success of anti-slavery in this State depends much upon their united energies.

LETTER FROM CANANDAIGUA, NEW-YORK.

In compliance with brother Johnson's request, I give some account of our convention in this place on the 15th of February. I shall take occasion to say a few words in regard to some things in the proceedings, with which myself, with many others, do not exactly agree. The meeting, though not large, was as well attended as could be expected, at this season. From the cordial reception our friends meet in every place, we should have anticipated a large meeting here, had the travelling been good. The following resolutions were adpoted: Some with little or no dissension; others, with much: Some with no dissenting voices; others with many:

Resolved, That American slavery, under all circumstances, is contrary to every principle of natural justice, sound republicanism, and pure Christianity: That duty to God, and man, demands of every individual in the community, an open testimony against it, and an earnest and faithful struggle to effect its abolition.

Resolved, That no man has any just claims to be called a republican, or Christian, who either holds slaves, apologizes for slavery, or neglects to bear a faithful testimony against the system.

Resolved, That no person can be said to bear a faithful testimony against slavery, who supports a pro-slavery political party, or belongs to a church, or sustains a ministry, which do not bear such testimony.

Whereas, we believe, with Thomas Jefferson, that the Almighty has no attribute which can take side with the slaveholder in a contest with the slaves;" and whereas, we should not dare to be found fighting against God, in favor of slavery; therefore,

Resolved, That we hereby declare our solemn determination never to aid, by violent means, in putting down the slaves, in case they should attempt to recover their liberty by force.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolution is not inconsistent with our oaths to support the Constitution of the United States.

That clause in the third resolution, which implies the division of churches, excited warm opposition; and that too, from those who are known to be thorough-going abolitionists; not because they were unwilling to do all they could for the promotion of the cause, but that they do not think such applications the most beneficial. The question involved, is not, and cannot be a test of abolition. Therefore, with all others of like nature, it should be excluded from anti-slavery discussions; for if, as we believe, our cause is the cause of humanity, it should ever be our aim to do that, and that *only*, which is calculated to advance its interests. Surely, that which is only calculated to set us to quarrelling among ourselves, cannot be other than detrimental to our cause. It is, in fact, the very engine of the adversary, who has been beaten in fair fight, and now hopes only to maintain his position by creating dissention in our ranks. We may agitate, and I care not how much; but let it be by the presentation of truth; and as far as may be, of such truth as the mind must inevitably assent to, when it meets it right side up.

Let us make the most of the present favorable opportunity, to *lead* public opinion; being very careful not to *drive* it back.

Yours ever, in the cause of humanity,
MILO D. CODDING.

[Extract of a letter from a Correspondent in Boston.]

THE UNION.

The greatest question that has yet come up for our consideration is this of the dissolution of the Union. I feel my own attachment to the union greatly weakened, when I see it made a fulcrum for slavery. If the union is forever to give strength and being to slavery, as it now does, I, of course, can neither respect nor cherish it. Still, I am inclined to think the union holds out the only means for the *peaceful* abolition of slavery. Disunion will, I fear, inevitably bring civil war and slave-insurrection. Perhaps these must come, in the order of events; but it is our business to avert them, if possible. I think our organization should consider the matter *very* materially, before they take their ground. We are always liable to be precipitated upon new and hazardous measures, by the love of paradox and novelty among us. The same impatience of slow progress, which gains adherents to third party, is stimulating people to this new step. For my own part, I never expected to see the habits of a great nation, hardened by the lapse of centuries, effectually changed in less than a generation.

Why should *abolitionists* petition for a dissolution of the Union? Is it likely to benefit the slaves in any other way than that from which we have pledged ourselves to abstain? As for cleansing a man's own conscience from participation in slaveholding, no man is *now* guilty of this, who is doing his best to overthrow it. Besides, if I choose, I can *individually* withdraw from the Union, without aiming at any thing revolutionary. Edmund Quincy has already done so. It is true an individual withdrawal is followed by many sacrifices, and disabilities; but this is of no consideration to an abolitionist. He cannot vote, for instance, or hold office. Very well—you will not deem him thereby shorn of his legitimate influence.

As an abolitionist, I see my way very clear in demanding an amendment of the Constitution, abolishing slavery. But I do not at present feel satisfied that it is not mere selfishness to try to sever myself from bond and free at the South, and thus virtually leave them to work out the great problem in blood. Some justify these petitions on the ground of their effect upon the South; but I disdain proceedings which are merely *in terrorem*.—Let us give *warnings*; never give *threats*.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM BOSTON.

I always feel cheered and strengthened whenever I pause to take note of landmarks along the rugged path we have been called to travel. Do you remember that cold and frosty day when you and I went in the darkness of the morning watch, to open the Infidel's Hall, in Summer street, for an anti-slavery Fair? No one professing Christianity would let us any portion of their buildings; and we felt deeply thankful to these unbelievers for leave to take possession of their Hall, after one of their own assemblies had dispersed late in the night.

Doubtless you well remember that small room, with its three tables, scantily enough furnished; our small array of refreshments; our wee book-table; and our few purchasers. Just by way of pleasant contrast, I wish you could have seen our last Fair at Amory Hall! The beautiful room was spacious, but far too small for the exhibition of rare and handsome articles crowded into it by scores of towns. To the best taste of Massachusetts, was added the splendid gifts of England, Ireland, and Scotland, and the costly purchases of our friends who had been travelling in Europe. Imagine our hall thronged with the wealth and fashion of Boston, who are somehow constrained to come up to *thus* much of anti-slavery work. This effect has been produced "without concealment and without compromise;" for the glory of it is, our rank and fashion perfectly understand that the outcast and despised, who are permitted to meet them in no other public place, will at our Fairs stand side by side with themselves, and be treated with equal respect and attention. Yet so mighty is the power of persevering effort, that to this *complexion* we have brought them at last. This circumstance alone speaks volumes in favor of the efficiency of our efforts, and is full of hopeful prophecy. If the vicinity of "niggers," neither in the capacity of slaves nor servants, can be tolerated at our Fairs, by the most fastidious community in the world, for hours and days, without a single expression of incivility, or one glance of contempt, why shall not the same miracle happen at lecture-rooms, lyceums, colleges, museums, and even *churches?* We shall see. W.

ANTI-SLAVERY IN JAMAICA—W. I.

At a meeting held at Claremont, on the 4th of August, 1841, the following resolution was unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That whereas union is strength, we deem it expedient to form a society to aid in the abolition of slavery.

Whereupon the following preamble and constitution were forthwith adopted.

Although slavery is abolished in Jamaica, it exists in all its horrors in other parts of the world, crushing not less than five millions of helpless victims, under its iron rod, debasing ignorance, and brutalizing lust. They are our poor brethren, and the Saviour has commanded us to remember them as bound with them.

We know the bitterness of slavery, and feel it to be a blessed privilege to do all in our power for its overthrow throughout the world.

That we may better accomplish this object, we agree to form ourselves into a society, to be governed by the following constitution:

ARTICLE 1st. This Society shall be called the Dry Harbor and Claremont Anti-Slavery Society, Auxiliary to the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

ARTICLE 2d. The object of this Society shall be to do all in our power to pull down the system of slavery; by disseminating knowledge in relation to slavery, as it still exists in other lands; by giving as the Lord shall prosper of our substance for the advancement of the cause of freedom; and especially by shewing to the world in our own case the safety and advantages of emancipation.

ARTICLE 3d. The officers of this society shall be, a President, and Secretary, who shall also act as Treasurer, and three other persons, who with the President and Secretary, shall constitute a board of managers for the society.

ARTICLE 4th. This society shall hold meetings semi-annually, and other meetings may be holden at such time and place as the officers shall appoint.

ARTICLE 5th. Any person may become a member of this society by subscribing the constitution, and contributing to its funds semi-annually.

ARTICLE 6. That the following persons constitute the committee for the ensuing year.

JOHN ELLIS, *President.*
JOSEPH MILLER, *Secretary.*
ANGUS WATSON,
ROBERT HENLIN,
HORATIO RICHARDS.

We received the above communication safely, via Charleston, S. C.; though it bore no other superscription, than "To the President of the American Anti-Slavery Society." It must have been an oversight in the "peculiar institution," not to burn it.

DEATH OF JAMES FORTEN.

PHILADELPHIA, March 7th, 1842.

Our venerable and beloved James Forten died on the morning of the 4th, at 9 o'clock; and was buried on the 6th. The vast concourse of people, of all classes and complexions, numbering from three to five thousand, that followed his remains to the grave, bore testimony to the estimation in which he was universally held. Our wealthiest and most influential citizens joined in the procession; and complexional distinctions and prejudices seemed, for the time, to be forgotten, in the desire to pay the last tribute of respect to the memory of departed worth.

The body was taken to the Episcopal Church of St. Thomas, of which, for the last fifty years of his life, the deceased was a member. In addition to the ordinary funeral services, the minister, Mr. Douglass, a well-educated man of color, dwelt very appropriately upon the solemn occasion of their assembly. His remarks were simple and chaste, and exceedingly impressive.—He seemed to avoid every thing like set eulogy, and contented himself with a plain, dispassionate statement of some of the most prominent features of the character and life of the departed. The effect upon the crowded assembly was deeply impressive.

In estimating some of the most striking features of his character, his wide-reaching benevolence was first mentioned. Every effort to meliorate man's condition, found in James Forten a warm supporter. If he felt a deeper interest in the anti-slavery and temperance efforts, than in others, it was because they involved the interests and destinies of our unoffending, but persecuted class, with which he was particularly identified. His opposition to slavery, and zeal in the cause of human liberty, never tired or diminished. He felt it to be a duty and a pleasure to give his warm and liberal support to that band of self-sacrificing men, that had organized to labor for the redemption of his brethren in bonds. Just before speech failed him, he desired his love to be given to Mr. Garrison, and all his abolition friends. He sustained the temperance reform, not only for the vast good it was accomplishing to all, but because it promised to lift up many of his own brethren from their degradation, and take out of the mouths of the enemies of liberty their objections to the colored man's freedom. He sustained temperance by example, as well as precept. He had been heard to say, that in all his long life, he never once tasted ardent spirits, as a drink.

He was a remarkably kind-hearted man. He could not endure anything like strife; particularly among brethren. He was frequently called upon to preside at public meetings; and he was seldom known to take the chair, without first, in that courteous manner which was his characteristic, expressing his earnest desire that harmony and good feeling might mark their deliberations.—If at any time a meeting had been conducted in a manner unusually harmonious, he was always sure, at the close, to express the lively satisfaction it had given him.

He was remarkably punctual and methodical. This, united to temperance and industry, had made him successful and prosperous.

He was the last of twenty-four vestry-men, who, fifty years ago, aided in erecting and organizing the church of St. Thomas. In all that fifty years, his seat at church was seldom seen vacant, and he was always there in good time.

His virtues were not the effect of mere natural amiability, or a pharisaic desire of other men's praise. They were the result of true religious principle. The well-performed duties of the various relations of his long and useful life bore ample testimony to the truth of this remark; and if any confirmation was needed, it was found in the uncomplaining patience with which he bore the five months' painful illness that terminated his life. A short time previous to his decease, he called his family to his bedside, and exhorted them to lead lives of Christian purity and uprightness, and to preserve the most affectionate harmony among each other.

These were the principal points of character touched upon by the speaker. Crowded as the audience was, I could not help wishing that more could have heard the address, and felt its effect. It was a most interesting occasion; though sad, it was strengthening and refreshing. "Blessed are the dead, who die in the Lord;" they "rest from their labors, and their works do follow them."

There is to be a meeting in Mr. Gardner's church, for the purpose of giving a public expression of sentiments in relation to the deceased.

J. M. McKIM.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 17, 1842.

THE CREOLE AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

Some months ago the case (then deemed incredible,) was supposed, of Mr. Webster's becoming "a northern man with southern practices," setting up as a slave-trader, and advertising, "For sale, (apply to Daniel Webster,) a prime slave," &c.

At that time, the thought was not permitted that a real occasion would ever occur, for such juxtaposition of *Webster and slave.* It is but eight little months, and the worst of our fears, so far as temptation and opportunity have offered, have been fulfilled.

It is now evident, that when Webster was led to the steps of the Richmond capitol,—when he performed the *kotou* to the slave king, and the wanton tyrant cried, "do it *again*," and he did it,—he had made up his mind to compete in earnest with Levi Woodbury and Isaac Hill, for the grace of that tyrant. That ominous visit to Virginia, that lowly bowing to the old slave "cabal," that certificate of character from *Watkins Leigh*, a father of slaves, who maintains that *no man, who labors, is fit to have any share in political power*—these have their proper sequel in this Creole letter.

The document reminded us of an anecdote of a counsellor of the Boston bar. In arguing a cause to the court, he presented a variety of points, which were successively overruled, as too well settled to admit of argument; whereupon he proceeded to harangue at random; and on being inquired of what point he proposed to establish by his course of remark, he replied, "May it please your honors, I am running for luck."

We have often thought that Mr. Webster was the only man we have heard, (and this includes Canning, Clay, Lowndes, Brougham, George Thompson, Arquelles and Berier,) to whom Ben Jonson's description of Bacon's eloquence could be applied:

"There happened in my time," says Jonson, "one noble orator, who was full of gravity in his speaking. No man ever spoke more neatly, more pressly, more weightily, or suffered less emptiness, less idleness, in what he uttered. His hearers could not cough or look aside from him, without loss. He commanded when he spoke, and had the judges angry and pleased, at his devotion. The fear of every man that heard him, was that he should make an end."

That it should have consisted with the dignity, wisdom, and renown of such a man to put forth the impotent and inhuman paper alluded to, is a source of unfeigned sorrow and deep humiliation. A little further perseverance in the same path, and we shall be compelled to complete the parallel:

"Do parts allure thee? Think how Bacon shined,
The wisest, brightest, *meanest* of mankind."

We do not propose to enter at large into the discussion of the claim for the slaves of the Creole, after having published the excellent articles from the New-York American. We would add to the cases there referred to, another, which will be in the recollection of all. A few years ago, there was a mutiny of Portuguese soldiers in the Cape de Verde Islands. Several officers and others were slain. "The mutineers and murderers" (real ones, no doubt) "seized a vessel, set sail for America, and arrived in Virginia. There they were arrested, and examined before the late Judge *Phillip B. Barbour*, and discharged.

But in Mr. Webster's despatch, though so much is said of "mutineers and murderers," no claim is made for the *men*, as such, but only as *property*, as if they were *opium*; rather a biting allusion, but likely to be less so in effect, (if we understand the facts,) than in its intention. The only possible ground upon which the British government can restore the slaves, or grant an indemnity for them as property, must be, that they were *forced* by the authorities at Nassau to take their freedom. Let that fact be made out, if it can be. There will be other testimony in the case, besides the protest of the furious and wounded captain, or of the mate and crew. The British authorities of Nassau will themselves be heard by the British ministers. If those slaves are sighing for bondage, they can use their present freedom in returning to it; they may present themselves in the New Orleans market, to which they were destined, and request to be sold. We would suggest to Mr. Clay, and others, who would make the case so highly "creditable to the relation of master and slave," whether it would not be well for government to charter a vessel, and convey information to those freed men and women, that they have an opportunity to return to "the happiness" of slavery. This will be a more direct remedy than to prosecute their claim before the British government, if they believe that those persons abandoned "the happy" condition of slaves upon compulsion.

As to "the mutineers and murderers," we do not see as the claim made by Mr. Webster can be considered for a moment as applying to them. It will not be pretended that *they* would have returned, except for the interference of the British authorities. They were free, and had command of the vessel, and would have landed with their friends who chose to follow, if the British had not interfered. Thus they cannot be included in the demand of property, and no demand is made for them in any other character.—D. L. C.

P. S. It will be seen by the foreign news, that Great Britain refuses, in the most decided manner, to acknowledge our unrighteous claim to the negroes on board this famous vessel. In the mean time, Mr. Webster's official despatch to our minister at London, has fairly committed our government; so that, according to the commonly received ideas of diplomatists, she can scarcely retreat from a war with honor, if her claim be disallowed.

The New-York Enquirer is calling loudly for preparations for immediate war; and a large portion of the press will doubtless join in a similar bow-wow. And *will* the people of the United States undertake a war to force back into slavery men who took their liberty in a manner so highly indicative of magnanimous character? The free States, we appr

TEXAS.

We have sounded so many warning notes on this subject, that we almost fear to weary the patience of our readers. But let them remember that the importance of this question cannot be exaggerated—can hardly be estimated. No event can possibly occur, which will have such a momentous and disastrous influence on the question of human freedom, as the annexation of Texas to the United States. So far as human vision extends, slavery would then have an interminable lease.

Let not the lovers of freedom be drowsy, because they have so often heard the cry of "Wolf! Wolf!" Had not the wolf formed a partnership with the *fox*, he would have pounced upon the flock before now. It may be attributed mainly to the watchfulness of abolitionists, that the deed has not been already done. *The danger is by no means past; on the contrary, it increases.*

If our readers have intelligently observed the Texan news we have given from time to time, they will see plainly enough that there is a great moving of the waters.

The legislature of Alabama have recommended the annexation of Texas to our Congress; and at the very same time Texas instructed her Congress to the same effect.—Waddy Thompson, of South Carolina, a man furious for the slave interest, and bitter in his hostility to Mexico, is the man chosen for our minister to Mexico. Our citizens are found united with marauding expeditions of Texans against Mexico; and Mr. Ellis, our present minister, is not only instructed to interfere for their release, but for that of the Texans also. *Mexican* Commissioners are seized by a Texan armed force *on board a United States vessel*, in which they had taken passage; but no indignation is excited by *this* violation of the laws of national intercourse—our minister is *not* instructed to demand *their* release of Texas; we can by no means allow Great Britain to search vessels falsely hoisting our flag; but our "sister republic" may search our bonafide vessels, and seize passengers, and no impolite questions are asked of her. From time to time, southern papers, and their coadjutors at the North, publish flourishing descriptions of Texan resources and prosperity; all doubtless intended to pave the way for annexation.—President Tyler, at the very outset, adopted the "interesting republic," as his pet. Our senators are doing their best in Congress to kindle a flame of indignation against Mexico, concerning the adjustment of our Mexican claims. General Hamilton, who seems to belong half to the United States, and half to Texas, is hurrying back and forth, like a certain personage "in a gale of wind." A child can see what all these things mean.

Moreover, we have received information from an individual at Washington, who has abundant means of knowing, that *the trap is already prepared in Congress, to spring at a given signal.* The understanding is that they will not venture to bring the proposition before the House at all; but will resort to the clever device of effecting the annexation by the treaty-making power, which belongs to the servile Senate. It is said that Waddy Thompson is instructed to negotiate with Mexico for the cession of the whole country to the Rio Bravo, in return for our unsatisfied Mexican claims; and to threaten war, if she refuses our demand. Here, doubtless, lies the secrect of the zeal, displayed so much of late by southern Senators in Congress, to exaggerate our difficulties with Mexico, and excite indignation against her.

Prompt and effectual measures should be taken to call the attention of the House to this subject. Let the remonstrance of the people be heard in thundering tones and see how long statesmen will venture to disregard it. Let each and every man, who reads this, make it his business to attend to it, and that speedily! The legislature of every free State ought to send in vehement remonstrances to Congress.

LETTERS FROM NEW-YORK.—No. 19.

It may seem strange to you that among the mass of beings in this great human hive, I should occupy an entire letter with one whose life was like a troubled and fantastic dream; apparently without use to himself or others. Yet he was one who has left a record on the public heart, and will not be soon forgotten. For several years past the eccentricities of MacDonald Clarke have been the city talk, and almost every child in the street was familiar with his countenance. In latter years the record of inexpressible misery was written there; but he is said to have had rather an unusual portion of beauty in his youth; and even to the last, the heart looked out from his wild eyes with most friendly earnestness. I saw him but twice; and now mourn sincerely that the pressure of many avocations prevented my seeking to see him oftener. So many forms of unhappiness crowd upon us in this world of perversion and disorder, that it is impossible to answer all demands. But stranger as poor Clarke was, it now makes me sad that I did not turn out of my way to utter the simple word of kindness, which never failed to rejoice his suffering and childlike soul.

I was always deeply touched by the answer of the poor, heart-broken page, in Hope Leslie: "Yes, lady, I *have* lost my way.' How often do I meet with those, who on the crowded path-way of life, have "lost their way!" With poor Clarke it was so from the very outset. Something that was not quite insanity, but was nigh akin to it, marked his very boyhood.

He was born in New London, Connecticut, and was school-mate with our eloquent friend, Charles C. Burleigh, who always speaks of him as the most kind-hearted of boys, but even then characterized by the oddest vagaries. His mother died at sea, when he was twelve years old; being on a voyage for her health. He says—

> "One night, as the bleak October breeze
> Was sighing a dirge through the leafless trees,
> She was borne by rough men in the chilly dark,
> Down to the wharf-side, were a bark
> Waited for its precious freight.
> I watched the ship-lights long and late;
> When I could see them no more for tears,
> I turned drooping away,
> And felt that mine were darkening years."

And darkened indeed they were. "That delicate boy," as he describes himself, "an only son, having been petted to a pitiable unfitness for the sterner purposes of life, went forth, alone, to struggle with the world's unfriendliness, and front its frowns."

He was in Philadelphia, at one period; but all we ever heard of him there was, that he habitually slept in the grave-yard, under shelter of Franklin's monument. In 1819, he came to New-York, where he wrote for newspapers, and struggled as he could with poverty; assisted from time to time by benevolence which he never sought. A sad situation for one who, like him, had a nerve protruding at every pore.

In New-York, he became in love with a handsome young actress, of seventeen, by the name of Brundage. His poverty, and obvious incapacity to obtain a livelihood, made the match objectionable in the eyes of her mother; and they eloped. The time chosen was as wild and inopportune as most of his movements. On the very night she was to play Ophelia, on her way to the Park theatre, she absconded with her lover, and was married. Of course, the play could not go on; the audience were disappointed, and the manager angry. The mother of the young lady, a strong, masculine woman, was so full of wrath, that she pulled her daughter out of bed at midnight, and dragged her home. The bridegroom tried to pacify the manager by the most polite explanations; but received nothing but kicks in return, with orders never to show his face within the building again. The young couple were stongly attached to each other, and of course were not long kept separated. But MacDonald, who had come of a wealthy family, was too proud to have his wife appear on the stage again; and the remarkable powers of his own mind were rendered useless by the jar that ran through them all; of course, poverty came upon them like an armed man. They suffered greatly, but still clung to each other with the most fervid affection. Sometimes they slept in the deserted market-house; and when the weather would permit, under the shadow of the trees. One dreadful stormy night, they were utterly without shelter, and in the extremity of their need, sought the residence of her mother. They knocked and knocked in vain; at last, the suffering young wife proposed climbing a shed, in order to enter the window of a chamber she used to occupy. To accomplish this purpose, MacDonald placed boards across a rain-water hogshead, at the corner of the shed. He mounted first, and drew her up after him; when suddenly the boards broke, and both fell into the water. Their screams brought out the strong-handed and unforgiving mother. She seized her offending daughter by the hair, and plunged her up and down in the water several times, before she would help her out. She finally took her into the house, and left MacDonald to escape as he could.—They were not allowed to live together again, and the wife seemed compelled to return to the stage, as a means of obtaining bread. She was young and pretty, her affections were blighted, she was poor, and her profession abounded with temptations. It was a situation much to be pitied; for it hardly admitted of other result than that which followed. They who had loved so fondly, were divorced, to meet no more. Whenever MacDonald alluded to this part of his strange history, as he often did to a very intimate friend, he always added, "I never blamed her; though it almost broke my heart. She was driven to it; and I always pitied her."

This lady is now an actress of considerable reputation in England; by the name of Burrows, I think.

From this period, the wildness of poor Clarke's nature increased; until he came to be generally known by the name of the "Mad Poet." His strange productions bore about the same relation to poetry that *grotesques*, with monkey faces jabbering out of lilly cups, and gnarled trees with knot-holes twisted into hag's grimaces, bear to graceful *arabesques*, with trailing vines and intertwisted blossoms. Yet was the undoubted presence of genius always visible. Ever and anon a light from another world shone on his innocent soul, kindling the holiest aspirations, which could find for themselves no form in his bewildered intellect, and so fell from his pen in uncouth and jagged fragments, still sparkling with the beauty of the region whence they came.

M. B. Lamar, late President of Texas, once met this eccentric individual at the room of William Page, the artist. The interview led to the following very descriptive lines from Lamar:

> Say, have you seen MacDonald Clarke,
> The poet of the Moon?
> He is a d——— eccentric lark
> As famous as Zip Coon.
>
> He talks of Love and dreams of Fame,
> And lauds his minstrel art;
> He has a kind of zig-zag brain—
> But yet a straight-line heart.
>
> Sometimes his strains so sweetly float,
> His harp so sweetly sings,
> You'd almost think the tuneful hand
> Of Jubal touched the strings;
>
> But soon, anon, with failing art,
> The strain as rudely jars,
> As if a driver tuned the harp,
> In cadence with his cars.

He was himself well aware that his mind was a broken instrument. He described himself as

> "A poet comfortably crazy—
> As pliant as a weeping-willow—
> Loves most everybody's girls; an't lazy—
> Can write an hundred lines an hour,
> With a rackety, whackety, railroad power."

From the phrase, "loves most everybody's girls," it must not be inferred that he was profligate. On the contrary, he was innocent as a child. He talked of love continually; but it was of a mystic union of souls, whispered to him by angels, heard imperfectly in the lonely, echoing chambers of his soul, and uttered in phrases learned on earth, all unfit for the holy sentiment. Like the philosopher of the East, he knew, by inward revelation, that his soul

> "In parting from its warm abode,
> Had lost its partner on the road,
> And never joined their hands."

His whole life was in fact a restless seeking for his other half. This idea continually broke from him in plaintive, wild, imploring tones.

> "I have met so much of scorn
> From those to whom my thoughts were kind,
> I've fancied there was never born
> On earth, for me, one kindred mind."

Again he says:

> "The soul that now is cursed and wild,
> In one fierce, wavering, ghastly flare,
> Would be calm and bleat as a sleeping child,
> That dreams its mother's breast is there;
> Calm as the deep midsummer's air—
> Calm as that brow so mild and fair—
> Calm as God's angels everywhere—
> For all is Heaven—if Mary's there."

This restless idea often centred itself upon some young lady, whom he followed for a long time, with troublesome but guileless enthusiasm. The objects of his pursuit were sometimes afraid of him; but there was no occasion for this. As a New-York editor very happily said, "He pursued the little Red Riding Hoods of his imagination to bless and not to devour."

Indeed, in all respects, his nature was most kindly; insomuch that he suffered continual torture in this great Babel of misery and crime. He wanted to relieve all the world, and was frenzied that he could not. All that he had—money, watch, rings, were given to forlorn street wanderers, with a compassionate, and even deferential gentleness, that sometimes brought tears to their eyes. Often, when he had nothing to give, he would snatch up a ragged, shivering child in the street, carry it to the door of some princely mansion, and demand to see the lady of the house. When she appeared, he would say, "Madam, God has made you one of the trustees of his wealth. It is His, not yours. Take this poor child, wash it, feed it, clothe it, comfort it—in God's name."

Ladies stared at such abrupt address, and deemed the natural action of the heart sufficient proof of madness; but the little ones were seldom sent away uncomforted.

Clarke was simple and temperate in all his habits; and in his deepest poverty always kept up the neat appearance of a gentleman; if his coat was thread-bare, it was never soiled. His tendency to refinement was shown in the church he chose to worship in. It was Grace church, the plainest, but most highly respectable of the Episcopal churches in this city. He was a constant attendant, and took great comfort in the devotional frame of mind excited by the music. He was confirmed at that church but a few weeks before his death; and commemorated the event in lines, of which the following are an extract:

> "Calmly circled round the altar,
> The children of the Cross are kneeling.
> Forward, brother—do not falter,
> Fast the tears of sin are stealing;
> Washing memory bright and clean,
> Making futurity serene.

During the past winter, he raved more than usual. The editor of the Aurora says he met him at his simple repast of apples and milk, in a public house, on last Christmas evening. He was absolutely mad. "You think I am MacDonald Clarke," said he; "but I am not. The mad poet dashed out his brains, last Thursday night, at the foot of Emmett's monument. The storm that night was the tears Heaven wept over him. God animated the body again. I am not now MacDonald Clarke, but Afara, an archangel of the Almighty."

"I went to Grace church to-day. Miss —— sat in the seat behind me, and I tossed this velvet bible, with its golden clasps, into her lap. What do you think she did? A moment she looked surprised, and then she tossed it back again. So they all treat me. All I want is some religious people, that love God and love one another, to treat me kindly. One sweet smile of Mary——would make my mind all light and peace; and I would write such poetry as the world never saw.

"Something ought to be done for me," said he; "I can't take care of myself. I ought to be sent to the asylum; or, wouldn't it be better to die? The moon shines through the willow trees on the graves in St. Paul's churchyard, and they look all covered with diamonds—don't you think they look like diamonds? Then there is a lake in Greenwood Cemetery; *that* would be a good cool place for me—I am not afraid to die. The stars of heaven look down on that lake, and it reflects their brightness."

The Mary to whom he alluded, was a wealthy young lady of this city; one of those whom his distempered imagination fancied was his lost half. Some giddy young persons, with thoughtless cruelty, sought to excite him on this favorite idea, by every species of joke and trickery. They made him believe that the young lady was dying with love for him, but restrained by her father; they sent him letters, purporting to be from her hand; and finally led him to the house, on pretense of introducing him, and then left him on the door-step. The poor fellow returned to the Carlton House, in high frenzy. The next night but one, he was found in the streets, kneeling before a poor beggar, to whom he had just given all his money. The beggar, seeing his forlorn condition, wished to return it, and said, "Poor fellow, you need it more than I." When the watchman encountered them, Clarke was writing busily on his knee, the history of his companion, which he was beseeching him to tell. The cap was blown from his head, on which a pitiless storm was pelting. The watchman could make nothing of his incoherent talk, and he was taken to the Egyptian Tombs; a prison where vagabonds and criminals await their trial.

In the morning, he begged that the book-keeper of the Carlton House might be sent for; saying that he was his only friend. This gentleman conveyed him to the Lunatic Asylum, on Blackwell's Island. Two of my friends, who visited him there, found him as comfortable as his situation allowed. He said he was treated with great kindness, but his earnest desire to get out rendered the interview very heart-trying. He expressed a wish to recover, that he might write hymns and spiritual songs all the rest of his life. In some quiet intervals, he complained of the jokes that had been practised on him, and said it was not kind; but he was fearfully delirious most of the time—calling vociferously for "Water! Water!" and complaining that his brain was all on fire.

He died a few days after, on the 5th of March, aged about 44. His friend of the Carlton House took upon himself the charge of his funeral; and it is satisfactory to think that it was all ordered, just as the kind and simple-hearted being would have himself desired. The body was conveyed to Grace church, and the funeral service performed in the presence of a few who had loved him. Among these was Fitz Greene Halleck, who it is said often befriended him in the course of his suffering life. Many children were present; and one, with tearful eyes, brought a beautiful little bunch of flowers, which a friend laid upon his bosom with reverent tenderness. He was buried at Greenwood Cemetery, under the shadow of a pine tree, next to the grave of a little child—a fitting resting place, for the loving and childlike poet.

He had often expressed a wish to be buried at Greenwood. Walking there with a friend of mine, they selected a spot for his grave; and he seemed pleased as a boy, when told of the arrangements that should be made at his funeral. "I hope the children will come," said he. "I want to be buried by the side of children. Four things I am sure there will be in heaven; music, plenty of little children, flowers, and pure air."

They are now getting up a subscription for a marble monument. It seems to me out of keeping with his character and destiny. Plant a rose-bush by his grave, and mark his name on a simple white cross, that the few who loved him may know where the gentle, sorrowing wanderer sleeps.—*L. M. C.*

THE LAST BELLS.

The story on our last page is from a periodial prepared entirely by the factory girls of Lowell. It is a deeply affecting story, and told in a manner that would do credit to any head or heart. These are the girls, whom our southern brethren inform us "are not half as well off as the slaves." We have heard them gravely assert that their slaves would pity the factory girls of New-England!

BUY AND DISTRIBUTE!

The very able and conclusive articles in the New-York American, on the Creole case and Mr. Webster's Despatch, are now published in a pamphlet, and are for sale at 143 Nassau street. The question is of vast importance at this crisis. Buy and circulate, and thus do your part towards forming a correct public opinion, and if possible averting the horrors of war.

Anti-Slavery Items.

RHODE ISLAND.—At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Rhode Island State Anti-Slavery Society, holden at the anti-slavery office, in Providence, March 7th, the following resolutions were passed, viz:

"Whereas, the Rhode Island State Anti-Slavery Society, at its last meeting, took decided action against the word 'white' in the 'People's Constitution,' so called; therefore—

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this Executive Committee, the Constitution framed by the 'landholders' convention, so called, is equally objectionable, because containing the same obnoxious feature; and ought to receive the decided opposition of every friend of human rights.

"Resolved, That in view of this committee, we hold it to be the duty of all friends of the colored race, who consider it their right or duty to vote, to put in their suffrages against the 'landholders' Constitution,' during the 21st, 22d, and 23d days of March.

"Resolved, That we recommend the abolitionists throughout the State to be firm and decided in their action against this and every other Constitution, which *disfranchises the colored man—to yield to no compromise—to demand nothing less than equal and exact justice for man, regardless of the color of his skin.*

By order,
WILLIAM APLIN, Sec'y.

SPAIN PUTTING HER HAND TO THE WORK.—It is stated in the New Orleans Bee, on the authority of passengers from Havana, that the captain-general of Cuba has issued orders for the examination of every estate on the island, with a view to the confiscation of all slaves who shall be found thereon, introduced contrary to the decree of Spain, forbidding the slave trade.

NEW ARGUMENT FOR THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.—The Natchez Free Trader, in an article on the cultivation of cotton, says:

"Texas will never prove the formidable rival that many apprehend. Her southeastern frontier is very poor. Her red lands productive, but not durable, and are remote from navigation. North and east of the Colorado, the country is not adapted to cotton; owing, chiefly, to the protracted drought prevalent there. And *unless the republic be annexed to this Union, we predict that in twenty years, or less, slavery* (so indispensable to the cotton grower) *will cease to exist there*, in its present form. Its abolition will be brought about not only by European influence, but by the preponderance of the free laboring class, in its eastern territory—a population which is flowing thither now, with all the prejudices of education and the dictates of interest, to arm them against the slaveholder."

This argument, coming as it does from *Mississippi*, is full of instruction.

DEADLY CLIMATE.—The African Luminary records the death of Dr. Wilson, missionary at Cape Palmas, from the A. B. C. F. mission. He died of dysentery, after three days illness, at Rocktown near Cape Palmas, on the 13th of November.

The Luminary says: "All animals, from man exclusive, and downwards, come from wherever they may, to this Cape, are attacked with fever, and have to undergo a regular acclimating process. This even holds good in animals from the interior, as also from any considerable distance, north or south, along this coast."

THE GREAT SLAVE CASE—PRIGG, OF MD. vs. PENNSYLVANIA.—The Washington correspondent of the Boston Atlas gives the following statement of the facts on which this case arose:

A gentleman residing in Maryland, near the Pennsylvania line, had waived the services of an aged pair of his slaves, and allowed them to reside upon a corner of his estate, in substantial though not *legal* freedom, for some years.

While thus living, a daughter was born to them, who was allowed to grow up in the same state of liberty which they themselves enjoyed, till she arrived at years of maturity, when she married a free negro of Pennsylvania, and went with him to reside in that State. They had several children, and no molestation was offered till after the death of the original owner of the woman, when his heir made an attempt to regain her and her offspring. With this design, he arrested and carried them before a magistrate, who decided that under the law of Pennsylvania he had no jurisdiction of the case. The owner then seized the woman and children in the night, and while her husband was absent, and forcibly carried them over the line to his own estate, where he detained them in slavery. For this offense he was indicted in Pennsylvania, and demanded by the Governor of the Executive of Maryland. Correspondence ensued between the two Governors, from which resulted the present amicable suit, which was first tried in an inferior court, and thence removed to the present tribunal.

The law of Congress of 1793 allows the owner of fugitive slaves at any time to arrest and carry them before a justice of the peace, and to give his own testimony to the facts upon which he claims to hold them.

In 1836 the State of Pennsylvania passed a law, by the advice and with the approval of commissioners appointed by Maryland, to consult with the former government in the premises, by which it was provided that the owner of fugitive slaves, found in Pennsylvania, should carry them before a Judge of the county court, and support his claim against them by disinterested testimony only.

Congressional.

IN SENATE.

Numerous petitions and reports on private claims. Resolutions, petitions, and discussions on the tariff, retrenchment, the distribution act, Mr. Clay's proposition to restrict the veto power, &c.

Mr. Linn, of N. Y. introduced a bill to refund the fine of a thousand dollars and costs, imposed upon Gen. Jackson, in 1815. Read twice, and referred to the Judiciary committee.

Among various communications reported, was one from the governor of Wiskonsan, communicating resolutions of the legislative council of that territory, urging the necessity of some steps for removing the Indians to west of the Mississippi.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Chiefly occupied with questions of retrenchment; such as horses and carts, oil and candles, &c. The visible effect of this prolonged effort is the cutting down of the salaries of two clerks, and three boys; and reducing to $25 the session, the supply of stationery to each member, which has sometimes amounted to three hundred dollars each. A discussion on the disposal of the public printing continued nearly two days, and cost the people at least six thousand dollars. It seems to have been of little avail to the business of the nation, that Mr. Adams so magnanimously consented to set aside his own defense, at the very moment when the eager ears of the whole nation were listening for it.

A number of anti-slavery petitions have been presented, and met the usual fate. Among others, the following was presented by Mr. Mathiot, of Ohio:

The petition of James C. Brown and 148 other citizens of Licking and Knox counties, Ohio, praying for the recognition, by this government, of the republic of Haiti, and for the following reasons, to wit:

1st. The United States being the only nation, not on a footing of reciprocity with the republic of Haiti, subjects us to a charge of duty on imports of 10 per cent. and 9 per cent. additional tonnage duty.

2d. Because our importations from Haiti, are greater than from two-thirds, at least, of the other countries, where we have consuls, and in some, expensive embassies.

3d. Because the trade of Haiti would be especially valuable, by carrying it on in our own shipping.

4th. Because we could then come into market with the products of the eastern States, such as fish, soap, lumber, &c. from the western States, with pork, lard, flour, &c., and afford them the above articles of trade, at a cheaper rate than the British, who now undersell us, with a much inferior article.

5th. Because it is wrong to make a distinction in color, a reason for withholding from Haiti customary national usage.

MARCH 10th.

Messrs. Gentry and Cushing addressed the committee of the whole on the amendment of the clause appropriating for the contingent expenses of the State department—the former against, and the latter for the appropriation. Mr. Giddings seized on an item in a former appropriation bill, of the contingent expenses of the State department, for advertising to owners of slaves, in the Comet and Encomium, that compensation therefor had been received from the British government, by the State department. He objected to this item as unconstitutional.

It was not constitutional to take the funds of the nation in any way, to aid in the re-capture of fugitive slaves; and to prove this, he was going to show the circumstances and conditions of the several States where the Constitution was adopted, and to give his views on the subject of abolition generally. He was called to order vehemently by several southern members, and from this, together with the strict line of debate marked out by the chairman, his attempt was unsuccessful, and he took his seat.

Mr. Charles Dickens was in the House during a part of the session, where he was introduced to ex-President Adams and a great number of the members.

Messrs. Slade, of Vermont, and Meriwether, of Georgia, are severely ill.

A communication from the Treasury department announces that the aggregate of demands upon the Treasury, during the present and the two succeeding months, is estimated at $9,574,040. The immediate means within the command of the Treasurer, for meeting these expenditures, were, at the commencement of the present month, including the unexpended power to issue Treasury notes, under the act of 31st January last, about $3,000,000.

Died.

At Venice, Cayuga county, (N. Y.) on the 28th of 2d month, after an illness of four days, MARY JACOBS, daughter of Isaac and Susan Jacobs, aged 16 years.—She was a lovely girl, of a truly religious character. Her excellent and liberal mind was deeply interested in all the sufferings of humanity; especially those of the poor negro slave. We should all do well to imitate the example of firm conscientiousness she has left us, in her constant refusal to partake of the products of unrequited labor.

In the 41st year of her age, on the 12th February last, in *perfect peace*, after a pulmonary sickness of 18 months, HARRIET HOWELLS, wife of Henry Charles Howells, at the family residence, Rose Dale, near Allegheny city, Pa.

Her life was that of the righteous, and her latter end was like his. She was in all the relations of life one who exemplified the Christian spirit and conduct in an eminent degree. Though retiring in her disposition, she was fearless in advocating the cause of the poor enslaved and despised colored people; nor could the terror of mob violence, with which, in Ohio, she was more than once assailed, deter her from the duty of pleading the cause of the poor and needy, and encouraging her husband to the same labor of love.—*Spirit of Liberty.*

The cause of the slave has sustained another loss. A few months since, we were called to mourn the departure of James C. Ludlow, a wise and faithful member of our Executive Committee. Now we mourn the loss of AUGUSTUS HOPKINS, who left this world, last Friday, in full hope of a better home. He was an active member of our committee from its organization, and has always occupied the office of Recording Secretary of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society. He was one of those students who, for the love of the truth, were obliged to leave Lane Seminary in the darker days of our enterprise. He was a peculiarly amiable, benevolent young man, steadfast in principle, consistent in practice, of philosophical intellect, and much energy of character. I scarcely knew a flaw in his Christian character.—*Philanthropist.*

THE ONE DOLLAR PLAN.

PAYMENT RECEIVED.

Amount previously acknowledged,			1086 00
1087	E. Thayer, Braintree, Mass.		1 00
1088	Ann Pound, Rochester county, N. Y.		1 00
1089	Elizabeth Coleman,	" "	1 00
1090	Silas Cornell,	" "	1 00
1091	W. C. Bloss,	" "	1 00
1092	Amy Post,	" "	1 00
1093	Catharine A. Fish,	" "	1 00
1094	Susan Fish,	" "	1 00
1095	Susan Fish,	" "	1 00
1096	L. A. Spalding, Lockport,	"	1 00
1097	Jared Gorton, Henrietta,	"	1 00

TREASURER'S RECEIPTS

For the week ending 3d month (March) 15th.

Received for the Standard.—William Alpin, Providence, R. I. $25; Julius Gates, East Hampton, Ct. $1; Rufus Horton, Portland, Me. $2; Isaac Hatch, New-York, $2 75; Philo Baldwin, Sonnet, N. Y. $2; Nathaniel Faxon, Boston, $2; Samuel Thompson, Poughkeepsie, $2 50; Watson, Fellows & Co. and Lyman Cheyney, Franklin, N. H. each paid $2; Ambrose S. Brackett, Bradford, N. H. $2; Rev. C. D. Noble, Springfield, Vt. $2; Sally Andrews, Bradford, N. H. $2; Daniel Carr, do. $1; Deacon N. Colby, South Bradford, N. H. $1; John C. Baker, Boscowen, N. H. $2; Post & Willis, Rochster, N. Y. $10; Elihu Coleman, do. $10; Lewis Burtis, do. $10; Erastus Hanokitt, Bloomfield, Ontario county, N. Y. $2; Erastus T. Cummings, Lima, Livingston county, N. Y. $1; Henry Harrington, Henrietta, Monroe county, N. Y. $2.—$86 25

Donations.—Joseph Jones, 50 cents; Joseph Leon, 30 cents; Joseph H. Messerow, 50 cents; Augustus Paul, 55 cts; Jacob Bracy, 13 cents; William Wilson, 12 cents; Cupid Brown, 50 cents; contribution box, $2 12; all from the Sailor's Home, No. 61 Cherry street, New-York, per Powell & Bordon. From a friend to the cause in the centre of one of the slave States, $5*

ISAAC T. HOPPER, *Treas'r.*

* His name is enrolled as a member of the American Anti-Slavery Society, agreeable to his request.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign Items.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Caledonia is safe!—This news has created a thrill of joy; for anxiety lest this fine packet ship had shared the fate of the President, was fast deepening into gloom. The steamer was disabled in the tremendous gale on the 10th of February, and put back for repairs. She first touched at Cork, and arrived at Liverpool on the 17th. The passengers have borne public and unanimous testimony to the excellence of the vessel, and the courage and skill of Capt. Lott.

The Christening.—The heir apparent of the British throne was christened on the 28th of January, in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, with prodigious pomp. The water used was brought from the river Jordan. The name given the royal infant was ALBERT EDWARD; the combined names of his father, and grandfather, the Duke of Kent. Should he ever ascend the throne, it will probably be under the title of Edward VII. The King of Prussia and the Duchess of Kent stood godfather and godmother. The other sponsors were the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, the Princess Augusta of Cambridge, and Prince Ferdinand of Saxe Coburg. The entrance of the royal troop, with their splendid retinue, was welcomed with trombones, trumpets, hautboys, flutes, drums, &c.

Her Majesty was attired in a most splendid robe of crimson velvet, and wore on her head a tiara of the most costly diamonds and precious pearls.

Prince Albert wore the uniform of a field marshal, decorated with the badge and insignia of the order of the garter.

The little Prince of Wales was attired in white satin, over which was an elegant lace dress, richly embroidered.

A most extraordinary christening cake was prepared for the occasion. The populace manifested the most unbounded loyalty, and were delighted that the wonderful baby was graciously held up to the carriage window, for them to gaze at; forgetful of the old proverb, "A cat may look upon a king; and surely I may look upon a meaner thing."

Next to the Queen and her infant, the Duchess of Kent received the heartiest testimonials of popular favor.

Hayden, the celebrated artist, who made a painting of the World's Convention, was seated within the rails of the altar, taking sketches of the imposing scene.

The Court Journal says: "The royal babe behaved with the most high-bred decorum, except that he stretched his tiny hand toward his Grace of Canterbury, when he felt the drops of water on his brow."

Parliament and the Creole Case.—The British Parliament was opened on the 3d of February, by the Queen in person. The echoing address was moved in the House of Lords by the Marquis of Abercorn, and in the House of Commons by the Earl of March. On the 9th, Sir Robert Peel brought forward his project for a change in the corn laws.

In both both Houses, in the debate on the address, the Creole case was alluded to.

In the Lords, on the 11th, Lord Brougham said, "that it was impossible that any rupture with the United States could arise out of that affair. The only treaty by which England or America could claim any refugees, either from the other, related exclusively to murderers, forgers, and fraudulent bankrupts; and even that treaty had expired. There was no international law by which they could claim, or we give up, the parties who had taken possession of the Creole; and those persons must stand or fall by English laws only."

In the Commons, Lord John Russell, in reference to the United States of America, trusted that all differences between the two countries would be settled amicably; whether that could be settled by a special mission or not, was a matter on which he would not express any opinion. Sir Robert Peel said, that a person had been sent out there to endeavor to terminate existing differences, by means other than those which had been hitherto adopted. Such a determination would be for the interests of humanity and civilization; and it was felt that the person who went thither for that purpose, should be a person of such consideration as to have held a seat in her Majesty's councils. The ambassador who had gone, had agreed to do so entirely from a sense of public duty; and considering his relations with the United States, and the respect attached to his name in that country, he was convinced that a more welcome messenger could not be selected.

In the House of Lords, on the 14th, Lord Brougham, pursuant to notice, brought under the consideration of their lordships, the case of the Creole, by moving for copies of any correspondence on the subject. He had, he said, considered the subject since he had first named the matter in that House, and the result of the consideration was a confirmation of the opinion he had formerly given. He was of opinion that even for the mere purposes of good neighborhood, there ought to be a law among nations, giving the power to such of surrendering criminals seeking refuge after condemnation in other countries. There was, however, no such law in existence, and no power on the part of this country to comply with any such demand.

The Earl of Aberdeen said, that some communications had taken place on this subject with the government of America; but he hoped the noble Lord would not press for them, if he informed him of the course which the government intended to pursue. After receiving all the legal assistance they deemed requisite, the government was satisfied that, by the law of this country, there was no authority to bring the persons who had escaped in the Creole, to trial for mutiny or murder, or even to detain them in custody. Instructions had accordingly been sent out for their liberation, unless it should appear that there was any colonial law under which they could be brought to trial. He was not, however, aware of the existence of any such law.

Lord Denman said, he believed that the whole of Westminster Hall were unanimous that the law of England furnished no means of delivering up the persons who had escaped in the Creole. The noble Lord quoted the opinion of Lord Coke, and in late years, of Sir C. Wetherall, to the same effect; and said that it would be indeed desirable if there were an international law giving a power to surrender criminals; but such a law could only rest upon the presumption that the laws of all nations were reasonable; and he feared that the nefarious traffic in slaves would stand very much in the way of any such arrangement.

Lord Campbell said he should not have spoken on the subject, but that an opinion had been attributed to him contrary to that just expressed by the Lord Chief Justice, which opinion he had never given. He was of opinion that the American government had no power to demand that those men should be given up; and that, if such a demand were made, there was no power, by the municipal law of England, to comply with it.

Lord Cottenham and the Lord Chancellor gave similar opinions; and Lord Brougham said that the same view was likewise taken by Lord Wynford and Lord Abinger.

Lord Campbell is reported to have gone the whole length against remuneration. He said:

"With regard to the claim for compensation, as slavery was not recognized by the law of England, the slave was free, *ipso facto*, as soon as he had set foot on the British territory, and America had no claim for compensation."

Lord Morpeth (now in this country) has lost his election for Parliament, in the city of Dublin; having received 3435 votes, while his tory opponent, W. H. Gregory, received 3835. Gregory's majority, 390.

The Earl of Elgin has been appointed Governor of Jamaica. Even the tory papers seem to regret the displacement of Sir Charles Metcalfe.

FRANCE.

European Treaty for the Suppression of the Slave Trade.—The ratification of this treaty between the five great powers of Europe is likely to be delayed, if not prevented, by the French government.

M. Guizot, chief minister of the crown, defended the treaty as well as he could, but such was the general feeling of the Chamber as the debate advanced, that his best friends could only support him by giving him credit for good intentions, and the sanctity of the object in view. All parties urged the danger to commerce and the freedom of the sea, that might grow out of it, and many adverted to the course of England for a long time back to establish her object.

Of the sincerity and good faith with which the French government concluded this important treaty there cannot be any doubt. It was the result of a proposal originating with France, in conjunction with Great Britain; and France and Great Britain equally rejoiced in the accession of the other powers. To congratulate each other on the general concurrence of Europe in a humane and benevolent suggestion, which had emanated from them conjointly, seemed indeed, to be all that remained for England and France to do.

The French papers announce a signal triumph of the government over the opposition on the motion of M. Ducos, to entitle some classes of professional men, chiefly distinguished by their anti-monarchical principles, to vote in the electoral colleges.

This occurrence might have been hailed with satisfaction in any circumstances. At the present moment it is peculiarly suspicious. It may be expected to impart to the existing administration of France that confidence in its own stability, the absence of which could alone cause or justify any hesitation to perform a duty which the French government owes, no less to its own dignity and honor, than to Europe and to Africa.

M. Guizot, feeling himself compelled to refuse, for the present, to join, without reserve, in the name of France, in ratifying the treaty in the precise terms in which it had been concluded proposed certain modifications. In these modifications Lord Aberdeen has declined to acquiesce, being of opinion, that, as a British minister, he ought not to admit the necessity of any guaranty for the disinterestedness and probity of Great Britain in respect to the abolition of the slave trade; these having been already proved by sacrifices and efforts in that cause, to which neither France nor any other country can produce a parallel.

It is certain, indeed, that upon this subject the conduct of France and that of Great Britain are in striking contrast. France, relieved from the necessity of encouraging the sugar culture in her colonies, and even adopting, in furtherance of the interests of the domestic cultivators of the beet-root, the policy of positive discouragement to the culture of the cane, has never drawn sixpence from her national purse to relieve the distress of her slave subjects, although, at a very small expense, she might have diffused much happiness in her colonies, with an increase of security to the favored department of her domestic agriculture.

It was generally understood at Paris, that the quintuple slave treaty will receive some modification before it is ratified by France. The modification will not affect the spirit of the document, but it will be sufficient to save the French minister from the reproach of acting against the declared opinion of the Chamber of Deputies.

CHINA.

A letter from Macao, dated November 17th, gives intelligence of the recapture of Chillan and the taking of the city of Ning-po by H. B. M. forces. The entrance of the river leading to Ning-po is said to have been defended by strong batteries at which some resistance was made, and about 1800 of the Chinese slaughtered, while the British forces sustained but very trifling loss. The authorities fled from Ning-po on the approach of the British, and the inhabitants of the city and vicinity appeared to have submitted quietly to the military domination of the steamers.

In Canton, all continues quiet thus far; but the authorities are busily engaged in placing obstructions to the navigation of the river, and in building new forts. Their plans, however, appear to be solely defensive, and we do not think they wish to provoke further hostilities in this quarter.

Of the people on board the Transport Nerbudda, which was wrecked, there were about one half of them murdered when they reached the shore. The remainder were taken by the Chinese and it is supposed have already met the same fate. The officers and crew of the British steamer Madagascar, which was wrecked, were taken by the Chinese, and nothing has since been heard of them. It is supposed they were murdered. On account of the cold weather which had commenced, the British forces will not be able to march to Pekin until the ensuing spring. There has been much sickness and many casualities among the British, a great many of whom have died.

WEST INDIES.

The Jamaica papers say very little concerning the late reported disturbances among the negroes. There is a verbal report that the jail at Kingston had been broken open by a mob, and that the convicts let out were roaming the country, committing depredations.

Kingston papers state that in many parts of the island, the laborers have struck work; the cause of which is said to be the independant situation of this class of people.

Havana papers represent everything as quiet, and give no news of the great Jamaica war. The alarm probably originated in some false rumor, growing out of the escape of a few convicts from the Kingston prison, and terribly exaggerated in Cuba by the ever active fear of slaveholders.

TEXAS.

The steam ship New-York brought to New Orleans, from Galveston over one hundred and thirty baskets of champaigne—a very singular article to come from Texas.

Among the passengers on the New-York

Poetry.

THE LIBERTY BELL.

BY JOHN PIERPOINT.

THE LIBERTY BELL—The Liberty Bell—
The tocsin of freedom, and slavery's knell,
That a whole long year has idle hung,
Again is wagging its clamorous tongue!
As it merrily swings,
Its notes it flings,
On the dreamy ear of planters and kings,
And it gives them a token
Of manacles broken;
And all that the prophets of freedom have spoken.
With tongues of flame,
(Like those which came
On the men who first spoke in the Saviour's name)
Comes over their soul,
As death-bells knoll,
Or the wheels of coming thunder roll!
Our Liberty Bell—
They know it well,
The tocsin of freedom, and slavery's knell!

Our Liberty Bell! let its startling tone
Abroad o'er a slavish land be thrown!
Nay, on the wings of the northeast wind,
Let it reach the isles of the Western Ind—
Those isles of the sun,
Where the work is done
That, here at the North, is but just begun.
Let the Bell be swung,
Till old and young,
That dwell New England's hills among,
Shall wake at the peal,
And, with holy zeal,
Beside their mountain altars kneel,
And pray that the yoke
From the necks may be broke
Of the millions who feel the "continual stroke"
Of the despot's rod;
And that earth's green sod
No more by the foot of a slave may be trod.

Let the Liberty Bell ring out—ring out!
And let freemen reply with a thundering shout,
That the gory scourges and clanking chains,
That blast the beauty of southern plains,
Shall be stamped in the dust;
And that thrice-gorged lust,
That gloats on his helpless bond-slave's bust,
Ere long shall see
That slave set free,
And joining in Liberty's Jubilee.
That Jubilee song!
"O Lord, how long"
Must the world yet wait for that Jubilee song?
Yet, come it must;
Jehovah is just,
And his truth and his Spirit we cheerfully trust.
That truth to tell
Comes the Liberty Bell,
And that Spirit shall make it strike slavery's knell.

Our Liberty Bell! let its solemn chime
Fall on the ear of hoary Time,
As onward—onward to its goal,
He sees the chariot of Liberty roll;
While, with shout and song,
The swelling throng
Of the friends of the bondman urge it along.
Let the same chime fall
On the ears of all,
Who tread on the neck of the negro thrall,
Till they start from the ground,
As they will at the sound
When the trumpets of angel's are pealing around;
And the murdered slave
Comes forth from his grave,
And smiles at the flash of th' Avenger's glaive;
And the world shall accord
In the righteous award
To both tyrant and slave, in that day of the Lord.

MOMENTS.

I lie in a heavy trance,
With a world of dream without me;
Shapes of shadow dance,
In wavering bands about me.
But at times some mystic things
Appear, in this phantom lair,
That almost seem to me visitings
Of Truth known elsewhere—
The world is wide, these things are small,
They may be nothing, but they are all.

A prayer, in an hour of pain,
Begun in an undertone,
Then lowered, as it would fain
Be heard by the heart alone—
A throb, when the soul is entered
By a light that is lit above,
Where the God of nature has centred
The Beauty of Love—
The world is wide, these things are small,
They may be nothing, but they are all.

A sense of an earnest will,
To help the lowly living,
And a terrible heart-thrill,
If you have no power of giving
An arm of aid to the weak,
A friendly hand to the friendless,
Kind words so short to speak,
But whose echo is endless—
The world is wide, these things are small,
They may be nothing, but they are all.

The moment we think we have learnt
The love of the All Wise one,
By which we could stand unburnt,
On the ridge of the seething sun—
The moment we grasp at the clue,
Long-lost and strangely riven,
Which guides our souls to the True,
And the Poet to Heaven—
The world is wide, these things are small,
They may be nothing, but they are all.

Milnes.

WHY I LOVED HER.

I loved her for that she was beautiful;
And that to me she seemed to be all nature,
And all varieties of things in one:
Would set at night in clouds of tears, and rise
All light and laughter in the morning; fear
No petty customs nor appearances;
But *think* what others only *dreamed* about;
And *say* what others did but *think*; and *do*
What others would but *say*; and *glory in*
What others *dared* but do. It was these which won me;
And that she never schooled within her breast
One thought or feeling, but gave holiday
To all: and that she told me all her woes,
And wrongs, and ills: and so she made them mine,
In the communion of love: and we
Grew like each other, for we loved each other;
She, mild and generous, as the sun in spring;
And I, like earth all budding out with love.—*Festus.*

LIFE.

Life is more than breath and the quick round of blood:
It is a great *spirit* and a busy *heart*.
The coward and the small in soul scarce do live.
One generous feeling, one great deed, one thought
Of good ere night, would make life longer seem,
Than if each year might number a thousand days,
Spent as is this by nations of mankind.
We live in *deeds*, not years; in *thoughts*, not breaths;
In *feelings*, not in figures on a dial.
We should count time by heart-throbs. He most lives
Who *thinks* most, *feels* the noblest, *acts* the best.—*Festus.*

Miscellany.

From the Democratic Review.

ON ASSOCIATION AND ATTRACTIVE INDUSTRY.

BY A FOURIERIST.

What are the great statesmen and legislators of this and other countries doing for the elucidation of true social principles, and the elevation of the mass? Unfortunately, they are doing nothing. Their attention is exclusively directed to political reforms, and to changes of persons at the head of the administration. The vast problem of social reform, which is so much deeper and more important than any political reform, is entirely neglected. Personal ambition, plans of self-aggrandizement, ephemeral party rivalries and triumphs, individual and sectional interests, absorb the energies and talents of the political leaders of nations! If they were animated by a true and noble ambition, how could they waste their lives and labors in secondary and trifling subjects, when so grand an object as a reorganization of society, and the elevation of the human race, was offered to their activity?

The world requires new social grades, new measures, and new plans of reform. The intelligence of the age demands higher, wiser, and more practical improvements; it demands effectual remedies for present evils, and a policy which will not always prove abortive and deceptive. Instead of conflicts of interests, anarchical competition, and envious rivalry and opposition, the world wants association, combination of action, and unity of interests. Instead of the present repugnant, ill-requited, and degrading system of LABOR, it wants attractive industry, and an equitable division of profits. Instead of endless controversies about the currency, it wants increased production, and the vast material economies, as well as moral blessings, of ASSOCIATION.

Let those who are convinced of the defects of the present system of society, and who are tired of the vain and sterile strife of parties, be not discouraged in their hope of a better future, by philosophical, political, and moral doctrines, which teach that the earth is, *and was intended to be*, a valley of tears, an abode of misery, where man was placed to combat and suffer; that as evil has always existed, it will always continue to exist; that ignorance, poverty, and suffering form a part of the destiny of man, and enter into God's scheme with regard to His creation. Let not their hopes be dampened by these views; for they are all false. A God of Justice has not placed the human race upon the earth to wear out a weary existence in a round of miseries, which outrage every sentiment of the heart, every desire and attraction of the soul; and added tantalization to injustice, by implanting in them a deep, unquenchable thirst for happiness. If he has given us limbs which suffer from the cold, he intended that they should be clothed; if he has given us stomachs which require food, he intended that they should be fed; if he has implanted in us a love for liberty and justice, he did not design that tyranny ant injustice should oppress and fetter us, and consume with their adder-fires the life-feelings within us. If the child comes into the world weak and ignorant, he intended that the strength and wisdom of mature age should extend it support, and call out all the capacities and talents with which it is endowed. But above all, if he has given man a mind to comprehend the vast scheme of creation, and a soul to feel its sublime harmonies, he did not intend that that intelligence should be obscured by the gloom of ignorance, and those feelings harrassed and worn out in the discords, conflicts, and anxieties of our false societies. He has assigned to man a high destiny, that of overseer of the globe, and of the creation upon it; he has given him noble aspirations, and it must be contrary to his design that he should be a poor and ignorant drudge—which is the case with nine-tenths of the race—and crushed to the dust, as if the dust were his natural element. No, it cannot be! The present poor and degraded condition of the human race is not their destiny.—It is caused by a false system of industry, and it is only in a social reform that a remedy can be found.

The earth is fruitful enough to produce in abundance all that is necessary for the physical wants and comforts of men. Let labor, capital, and talent be rightly directed, and it will yield in superfluity its material riches, which are of primary importance to our happiness. The efforts of men are so miserably applied in our present system of industry and free competition, that the great majority live in a state of destitution,—their intellectual nature smothered, and their lives worn out in the anxieties of obtaining the means of a bare subsistence. Association and attractive industry are the remedies for the poverty which now exists, and the train of evils which it engenders.

In association, labor, capital, and skill, can be applied in the most efficient and judicious manner; great economies can be introduced, and a zest given to industry, which will increase production or real wealth to such a degree that abundance can be guarantied to all.

Association and attractive industry will guarantee to man riches—that is, a sufficiency of everything necessary to his physical wants and comforts;—with riches will come pecuniary independence and education; and with education, intellectual development.

The mass have heretofore been tyrannized and oppressed, because they have been ignorant and pecuniarily dependent. Let them become enlightened and wealthy, and oppression under all its forms will cease; they will then be respected; they will obtain their rights and know how to maintain them. He who is ignorant, poor, and dependent, is made use of as a tool,—he is not respected,—he is not looked upon as a MAN. He who is intelligent and independent is respected,—it is felt that he was not created to be a beast of burden,—he is a MAN! Riches and intellectual development are the foundation of human liberty and happiness; and association and attractive industry will, and can alone, secure these precious advantages to all.

If the earth be fruitful enough to furnish man with all that is necessary to his physical happiness, has he not in his own heart and mind the elements of his moral and intellectual happiness? He has. He finds within himself emotions—such as friendship, love, ambition, and paternity—the true and harmonious satisfaction of which procure such high delights; and he finds also within himself intellectual powers which can surround him with wonders in the arts and sciences, and procure him the enjoyment of the harmonies of the one and the truths of the other. He wants a society which will develop the material riches of nature and the intellectual riches of the soul, and secure their possession to all mankind. If he can attain this double end, he attains his happiness.

Human happiness is not an Utopia, an illusive chimera, which can never be realized; the elements of it are in and around us; we only require a society which will call them out. All classes, at present, are in a miserable condition. The poor possess neither material nor intellectual riches, and their existence is a sickening combat against poverty, care, and anxiety. The rich have a sufficiency of material riches or physical comforts, it is true, but have little or no moral and intellectual riches; for our societies cannot secure even to a favored few the enjoyments—in a true and harmonious manner—of the emotions and sentiments, and the higher pleasures of the mind. They indulge so excessively in material pleasures, that their wealth is often a curse instead of a blessing. They are freed from the cares and anxieties of procuring the means of existence; but having few high intellectual occupations to engage their attention, they become tired of the trivial and insignificant round of pleasures which society offers them, and their minds become a prey to apathy, melancholy, intellectual vacuity, ennui, mental dejection, and hypochondria. This state of things is a moral death for the mind, and renders the rich, surrounded with all their luxuries, frequently more intensely miserable than the poor. Besides, how uncertain are they in their possessions! In the excesses and fluctuations of commerce, banking, and industry—in the dishonesty, frauds, and villanies, to which the greedy and unprincipled strife after fortune leads—how many are precipitated suddenly from affluence into poverty! And those who, by superior skill or chance, escape the reverses of fortune, may be almost certain that their children will not, but will be wrecked upon the thousand shoals of our societies, and ingulfed in ruin. Yes, our societies expose all men to dangers, sad reverses, and bitter disappointments. Let those who oppose ignorantly, and from prejudice, the idea of a social reform, examine attentively the condition even of the most favored in society around them, examine their career, and see how unenviable in reality is their lot; see to how many evils, sufferings, and changes of fortune they are exposed; how often they are overtaken by misfortunes which they could not foresee or avert, and in how many instances they end their lives miserably. Some fall from affluence into poverty; others are disappointed by the bad conduct of children; some again, from these and other causes, take to the fatal cup, and die drunkards; while others are afflicted with poor health, and drag out an existence of debility and disease. There is not one person in twenty in our societies, who passes through life with even a moderate degree of good fortune; and as to that high and elevated happiness which man might enjoy in association with attractive industry, moral harmony of the passions, and an extended cultivation of the arts and sciences, no one possesses it.

A social reform is necessary for all classes; but particularly for the millions of our poor, down-trodden, and oppressed fellow-creatures, who cannot speak for themselves,—who cannot plead their own cause, but must depend upon the intelligent and the rich to do it for them.

There is an apathy and indifference among the influential classes and political leaders of society, which are most reprehensible. A great noise is made about trifling sins, which are of but small moment; while the crying sin of the times—its dark, loathsome selfishness—is denounced by no sect or party. The rich, the clergy, and political leaders should direct their attention to the sad and melancholy question of human misery; they should inquire earnestly if means do not exist to remedy it, and they should search conscientiously for those means. If they pass by this important question in silent indifference, they become traitors to the cause of humanity and of God, and they incur a responsibility which they will have to answer as best they can. One tenth part of the time and means spent in selfish pleasures, in sectarian controversy, and party quarrels, would, if directed to the great and noble object of the social elevation and happiness of mankind, secure its realization. But now scarce an effort, scarce a thought, is directed to this important subject. Human misery is looked upon as a fatal evil, which cannot be remedied; and it is declared an Utopia, a visionary scheme, even to think of it.

The clergy should in particular aid the cause of a social reform; the elevation and happiness of the human race upon this earth, is the true preliminary step to be taken to secure their salvation hereafter. Give man a sufficiency, so that his higher intellectual powers and sentiments will not be deadened by poverty and anxiety; develop his intelligence—that internal light which God has given him to direct him rightly; take temptations and pitfalls out of his path, and will he not move on more uprightly and nobly in his earthly career, and be much more likely to obtain salvation,—if acts and deeds can obtain it,—than if he is plunged in poverty, forced into vice and crime, from ignorance, or circumstances which he cannot combat?—if his higher faculties and sentiments are smothered, and his sensual tendencies only called out; and if, in short, his mind is uncultivated, so that he is left to move on amidst the thousand shoals and perils of our false societies, without any high moral and intellectual development to guide him, and to counteract tempting circumstances without, and perverted passions within? There can be no doubt of it; and true religion, as well as enlightened reason, pleads for a social reform, and prompts us to labor for the organization of true social order.

I shall lay before the readers of the Democratic Review the plan of a social organization, which, I feel confident, will do away with a vast amount of the misery which now exists, and secure the social elevation of the mass. I call the attention of reflecting minds to this subject, and request them to devote to it that serious examination which it merits. The system discovered by FOURIER differs entirely from all those which have heretofore been proposed; it has not the least affinity with, or relation to, that of Owen, the Shakers, Rappites, or any other of which the public has an idea. It is a comprehensive and noble system, which is not the arbitrary plan or scheme of an individual, but is deduced from certain great moral and intellectual laws, by which its truth can be proved.

To do away with some prejudices which may exist in the mind of the reader, I will state explicitly:—

1. That the religious sentiment will be not only maintained, but nobly developed. It is now nearly smothered by misery and anxiety in the minds of the mass, and is degraded by sectarian dissensions. We wish Christianity; but we wish it felt and understood by enlightened minds.

2. That the family tie and marriage will be preserved. They are now, in a vast number of cases, sadly smothered and degraded by poverty, brutality, drunkenness, vice and crime. How can ties of so delicate a nature exist with purity in a society which is full of misery, ignorance, and degradation? We do not wish to change the family sentiment, but we wish to change the circumstances which surround it.

3. That no community of property will exist.—In the system which I shall explain in my future articles, individual property will not only be maintained, but the means of acquiring it will be extended to every member of society—female as well as male. In our present society, not one person out of ten—if we include women—possess any property in their own right; and this is the cause of that revolting tyranny of the individual over the individual, which at present so generally exists. People cling, and rightly so, to the principle of individual property; but they do not see that it exists in theory, not in practice: that the mass possess no individual property. The wealth of society is absorbed by a few, who make often the most oppressive and reprehensible uses of it.

The reform which we contemplate will embrace the following departments of society:

The system of industry, or mode of prosecuting agriculture, manufactures, and mechanics.

The system of commerce.

The system of education.

The system of isolated households, which assigns to each family a separate dwelling, and a separate interest in society.

The departments of society, which are true in their nature, and require no reform, but merely a true and noble development, are,

The religious sentiment, and its external manifestation—worship.

The marriage institution.

The principle of individual property.

That element or institution of the present social order to which men will no doubt cling with the greatest tenacity, is the isolated household. It must, however, be reformed, and association must be substituted in its place. The isolated household is the fundamental cause of our present false and repugnant system of industry; it leads to waste, to discord and antipathy, to opposition of interests and envious competition, to quarrels and litigations, to an anti-social spirit, to a conflict of the individual with the public good, to a miserable system of agriculture, and, to universal selfishness.

We will explain a system of association, by means of which, isolated and separate families can be induced to unite and associate; in which unity of interests and concert of action can be introduced; an equitable division of profits, according to labor, capital, and skill, established; industry rendered honorable and ATTRACTIVE; individual rights and liberty vastly extended; the product of industry increased six or eight fold; the tyranny of capital over labor restricted; the monopolies, adulterations, enormous intermediate profits, and other frauds and extortions of commerce prevented; unity between the individual and the collective good, and general confidence attained; a practical and scientific education guarantied to the child; agreeable and varied occupations opened to all; and an abundance secured to every member of society.

Such are some of the results which I can promise from the system of association which I shall explain in future articles. Will our leading politicians, and those who take an interest in the social elevation of man, give their attention to the subject, and examine our new social principle? The world, we know, is full of petty schemes and plans of reform, of low party strife, and of selfish personal ambition, which divert men's minds from a subject so vast and general as a reorganization of society; but let us hope that there are some minds which will feel its importance, and be willing to lend it their aid. The world wants a *social reform*; not superficial, political, and administrative changes, which lead to no results. The suffering mass plead for an abatement of their misery,—plead for relief from the poverty, and harassing cares and anxieties which crush them to the earth. Will they be heard? Are there no noble souls which can abstract themselves from the din and interests of parties, and become penetrated with a true and profound feeling for the greatest and noblest of undertakings—the elevation, happiness, and dignity of the poor, the low, and down-trodden portion of the human family? If there are, let them not be stopped or discouraged by the opposition or ridicule of those common-place minds, which, steeped in the selfishness, contracted spirit, cold-hearted indifference, and animosities of society, are mere repeaters and echoes of its shallow policy, its false wisdom, its *individualism*, and its selfish precepts for individual conduct.

From the Lowell Offering.

THE FIRST BELLS.

There are times when I am melancholy; when the sun seems to shine with a shadowy light, and the woods are filled with notes of sadness; when the up-springing flowers seem blossoms strewed upon a bier, and every streamlet chants a requiem. Have we not all our trials? and though we may bury the sad thoughts to which they give birth in the dark recesses of our own hearts, yet memory and sensibility must both be dead, if we can always be light and mirthful.

Once it was not so. There was a time when I gayly viewed the dull clouds of a rainy day, and could hear the voice of rejoicing in the roarings of the wintry storm; when sorrow was an unmeaning word, and in things which now appear sacred, my thoughtless mind could see the ludicrous.

These thoughts have been suggested by the recollection of a poor old couple, to whom in my careless girlhood, I gave the name of "the first bells." And now, I doubt not, you are wondering what strange association of ideas could have led me to fasten this appellation upon a poor old man and woman. My answer must be the narration of a few facts.

When I was young, we all worshipped in the great meeting-house, which now stands so vacant and forlorn upon the brow of Church hill. It is never used but upon town-meeting days—for those who once went up to the house of God in company, now worship in three separate buildings. There is discord between them—that worst of all hatred, the animosity which arises from difference of religious opinions. I am sorry for it; not that I regret that they cannot all think alike, but that they cannot "agree to differ." Because the heads are not in unison, it needeth not that the hearts should be estranged; and a difference of faith may be expressed in kindly words. I have my friends among them all; and they are not the less dear to me, because upon some doctrinal points our opinions cannot be the same. A creed which I do not now believe, is hallowed by recollections of the Sabbath worship, the evening meetings, the religious feelings—in short, of the faith, hope, and trust, of my earlier days.

I remember now, how still and beautiful our Sunday mornings used to seem, after the toil and play of the busy week. I would take my catechism in my hand, and go and sit upon a large, flat stone, under the shade of the chestnut tree; and looking abroad would wonder if there was a thing which did not feel that it was the Sabbath. The sun was as bright and warm as upon other days, but its light seemed to fall more softly upon the fields, woods and hills; and though the birds sung as loudly and joyfully as ever, I thought their sweet voices united in a more sacred strain. I heard a Sabbath-tone in the waving of the boughs above me, and the hum of the bees around me; and even the bleating of the lambs, and lowing of the kine, seemed pitched upon some softer key. Thus it is that the heart fashions the mantle with which it is wont to enrobe all nature, and gives to its never-silent voices a tone of joy, or sorrow, or holy peace.

We had then no bell; and when the hour approached for the commencement of religious services, each nook and dale sent forth its worshippers in silence. But precisely half an hour before the rest of our neighbors started, the old man and woman, who lived upon Pine hill, could be seen wending their way to the meeting-house. They walked side by side, with a slow, even step, such as was befitting the errand which had brought them forth. Their appearance was always the signal for me to lay aside my book, and prepare to follow them to the house of God. And it was because they were so unvarying in their early attendance; because I was never disappointed in the forms which first emerged from the pine trees upon the hill, that I gave them the name of "the first bells."

Why they went thus regularly early I know not; but think it probable they wished for time to rest after their long walk, and then to prepare their hearts to join in exercises which were evidently more valued by them, than by most of those around them. Yet it must have been a deep interest which brought so large a congregation from the scattered houses, and many far-off dwellings of our thinly-peopled country town.

And every face was then familiar to me. I knew each white-headed patriarch who took his seat by the door of his pew, and every aged woman who seated herself in the low chair in the middle of it; and the countenances of the middle-aged and the young, were rendered familiar by the exchange of Sabbath glances, as we met, year after year, in that humble temple.

But upon none did I look with more interest than upon "the first bells." There they always were, when I took my accustomed place—there upon the free seat at the right hand of the pulpit. Their heads were always bowed in meditation till they arose to join in the morning prayer; and when the choir sent forth their strain of praise, they drew nearer to each other, and looked upon the same book, as they silently sent forth the spirit's song to their Father in heaven. There was an expression of meekness, of calm and perfect faith, and of subdued sorrow, upon the countenances of both, which won my reverence, and excited my curiosity to know more of them.

They were poor. I knew it by the coarse and much-worn garments which they always wore; but I could not conjecture why they avoided the society and sympathy of all around them. They always waited for our pastor's greeting when he descended from the pulpit, and meekly bowed to all around; but farther than this, their intercourse extended not. It appeared to me that some heavy trial, which had knit their own hearts more closely together, and endeared to them their faith, and its religious observances, had also rendered them unusually sensitive to the careless remarks and curious inquiries of a country neighborhood.

One Sabbath, our pastor preached upon parental love. His text was that affecting ejaculation of David, "O Absalom, my son, my son!" He spoke of the depth and fervor of that affection, which in a parental heart will remain unchanged and unabated, through years of sin, estrangement and rebellion. He spoke of that reckless insubordination, which often sends pang after pang through the parent's breast; and of wicked deeds which sometimes bring their grey heads in sorrow to the grave. I heard stifled sobs; and looking up, saw that the old man and woman, at the right hand of the pulpit, had buried their faces in their hands. They were trembling with agitation, and I saw that a fount of deep and painful remembrances had now been opened. They soon regained their usual calmness; but I thought their steps more slow, and their countenances more sorrowful that day, when, after our morning service had closed, they went to the grave in the corner of the church-yard. There was no stone to mark it, but their feet had been wearing, for many a Sabbath-noon, the little path which led to it.

I went that night to my mother, and asked her if she could not tell me something about "the first bells." She chid me for the phrase by which I was wont to designate them; but said that her knowledge of their former life was very limited. Several years before, she added, a man was murdered in hot blood in a distant town, by a person named John L. The murderer was tried and hung; and not long after, this old man and woman came and hired the little cottage upon Pine hill. Their names were the same that the murderer had borne, and their looks of sadness, and retiring manners, had led to the conclusion that they were his parents. No one knew certainly that it was so—for they shrunk from all inquiries, and never adverted to the past; but a gentle and sad-looking girl, who had accompanied them to their new place of abode, had pined away, and died within the first year of their arrival. She was their daughter, and was supposed to have died of a broken heart, for her brother who had been hung. She was buried in the corner of the church-yard, and every pleasant Sabbath-noon, her aged parents had mourned together over her lowly grave.

"And now, my daughter," said my mother, in conclusion, "respect their years, their sorrows, and above all, the deep, fervent piety which cheers and sustains them, and which has been nurtured by agonies, and watered by tears, such as I hope my child will never know."

My mother drew me to her side, and kissed me tenderly; and I resolved that never again would I, in a spirit of levity, call Mr. and Mrs. L. "the first bells."

* * * * * * * *

Years passed on; and through summer's sunshine and its showers, and through winter's cold, and frost, and storms, that old couple still went upon their never-failing Sabbath-pilgrimage. I can see them even now, as they looked in days long gone by. The old man, with his loose, black, Quaker-like coat, and low-crowned, much-worn hat, his heavy cow-hide boots, and coarse, blue mittens; and his partner walking slowly by his side, wearing a scanty, brown cloak, with four little capes, and a close, black, rusty-looking bonnet. In summer, the cloak was exchanged for a cotton shawl, and the woolen gown, for one of mourning print. The Sabbath expression was as unchangeable as its dress. Their features were very different, but they had both the same mild, mournful look, the same touching glance, whenever their eyes rested upon each other; and it was one which spoke of sympathy, hallowed by heartfelt piety.

At length a coffin was borne upon a bier from the little house upon the hill; and after that, the widow went alone each Sabbath noon to the two graves in the church-yard. I felt sad when I thought how lonely and sorrowful she must be now; and one pleasant day I ventured, an unbidden guest, into her lowly cot. As I approached her door, I heard her singing in a low, tremulous tone,

"How are thy servants blessed, O Lord."

I was touched to the heart; for I could see that her blessings were those of a faith, hope and joy, which the world could neither give nor take away.

She was evidently destitute of what the world calls comforts; and I feared she might also want its necessaries. But her look was almost cheerful, as she assured me that her knitting (at which I perceived she was quite expeditious) supplied her with all which she now wanted.

I looked upon her sun-burnt, wrinkled countenance, and thought it radiant with moral beauty. She wore no cap, and her thin, grey hair was combed back from her furrowed brow. Her dress was a blue woollen skirt, and a short, loose gown; and her hard, shrivelled hands bore witness to much unfeminine labor. Yet she was contented, and even happy, and singing praise to God for his blessings.

* * * * * * *

The next winter I thought I could perceive a faltering in her gait, whenever she ascended Church hill; and one sabbath she was not in her accustomed seat. The next, she was also absent; and when I looked upon Pine hill, I could perceive no smoke issuing from her chimney. I felt anxious, and requested liberty to make, what was then in our neighborhood an unusual occurrence, a Sabbath visit. My mother granted me permission to go, and remain as long as my services might be necessary; and at the close of the afternoon worship, I went to the little house upon the hill. I listened eagerly for some sound, as I entered the cold apartment; but hearing none, I tremblingly approached the low, hard bed. She was lying there, with the same calm look of resignation, and whispered a few words of welcome as I took her hand.

"You are sick and alone," said I to her; "tell me what I can do for you."

"I am sick," was her reply, "but not *alone*. He who is every where, and at all times present, has been with me in the day and in the night. I have prayed to Him, and received answers of mercy, love and peace. He has sent his angel to call me home, and there is nought for you to do but to watch the spirit's departure."

I felt that it was so; yet I must do something. I kindled a fire, and prepared some refreshment; and after she drank a bowl of warm tea, I thought she looked better. She asked me for her Bible; and I brought her the worn volume which had been lying upon the little stand. She took from it a soiled and much-worn letter, and after pressing it to her lips, endeavored to open it—but her hands were too weak, and it dropped upon the bed. "No matter," said she, as I offered to open it for her; "I know all that is in it, and in that book also. But I thought I should like to look once more upon them both. I have read them daily, for many years, till now; but I do not mind it—I shall go soon."

She followed me with her eyes as I laid them aside, and then closing them, her lips moved as if in prayer. She soon after fell into a slumber, and I watched her every breath, fearing it might be the last.

What lessons of wisdom, truth, and fortitude, were taught me by that humble bed-side! I had never before been with the dying, and I had always imagined a death-bed to be fraught with terror. I expected that there were always fearful shrieks, and appalling groans, as the soul left its clay tenement; but my fears were now dispelled. A sweet calmness stole into my inmost soul, as I watched by the low couch of the sufferer; and I said, "If this be death, may my last end be like hers."

But at length I saw that some dark dream had brought a frown upon the pallid brow, and an expression of woe around the parched lips. She was endeavoring to speak, or to weep, and I was about to awaken her, when a sweet smile came like a flash of sunlight over her sunken face, and I saw that the dream of woe was exchanged for one pleasure.—Then she slept calmly, and I wondered if the spirit would go home in that peaceful slumber. But at length she awoke, and after looking upon me and her little room with a bewildered air, she heaved a sigh, and said, mournfully, "I thought that I was not to come back again; but it is only for a little while. I have had a pleasant dream, but not at first. I thought once that I stood in the midst of a vast multitude, and we were all looking up at one who was struggling on a gallows. O, I have seen that sight in many a dream before, but still I could not bear it; and I said, "Father, have mercy;" and then I thought that the sky rolled away from behind the gallows, and there was a flood of glory in the depths beyond; and I heard a voice saying to him who was hanging there, "This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise!" And then the gallows dropped, and the multitude around me vanished, and the sky rolled together again; but before it had quite closed over that scene of beauty, I looked again, and *they were all there*. Yes," added she, with a placid smile, "I know that *he* is there with them; the *three* are in heaven, and I shall be there soon."

She ceased, and a drowsy feeling came over her. After a while, she opened her eyes with a strange look of anxiety and terror. I went to her, but she could not speak; and she pressed my hand closely, as though she feared I would leave her. It was a momentary terror, for she knew that the last pangs were coming on. There was a painful struggle, and then came rest and peaceful confidence. "That letter," whispered she, convulsively; and I went to the Bible, and took from it the soiled paper which claimed her thoughts even in death. I laid it in her trembling hands, which clasped it nervously, and then pressing it to her heart, she fell into that slumber from which there is no awakening.

When I saw that she was indeed gone, I took the letter and laid it in its accustomed place; and then, after straightening the limbs, and throwing the bed-clothes over the stiffening form, I left the house.

It was a dazzling scene of winter beauty that met my eye, as I went forth from that lowly bed of death. The rising sun threw a rosy light upon the crusted snow, and the earth was dressed in a robe of sparkling jewels. The trees were hung with glittering drops, and the frozen streams were dressed in robes of brilliant beauty.

I thought of her upon whose eyes a brighter morn had beamed, and of a scene of beauty upon which no sun should ever set, and whose never-fading glories shall yield a happiness which may never pass away.

I went home, and told my mother what had passed; and she went, with some others, to prepare the body for burial. I went to look upon it once more, the morning of the funeral. The features had assumed a rigid aspect, but the placid smile was still there. The hands were crossed upon the breast; and as the form lay so still and calm in its snowy robes, I almost wished that the last change might come upon me, so that it would bring a peace like this, which should last forevermore.

I went to the Bible, and took from it that letter. Curiosity was strong within me, and I opened it. It was signed "John L." and dated from his prison the night before his execution. But I did not read it. O, no! it was too sacred. It contained those words of penitence and affection over which her stricken heart had brooded for years. It had been the well-spring from which she had drunk joy and consolation, and derived her hopes of a re-union where there should be no more shame, nor sorrow, nor death.

I could not destroy that letter; so I laid it beneath the clasped hands, over the heart to which it had been pressed when its beatings were forever stilled; and they buried *her*, too, in the corner of the church-yard; and that tattered paper soon mouldered to ashes upon her breast. * * *

We have now a bell upon our meeting-house; and when I hear its Sabbath-morning peal, my thoughts are subdued to a tone fitting for sacred worship; for my mind goes back to that old couple, whom I was wont to call "the first bells;" and I think of the power of religion to hallow and strengthen the affections, to elevate the mind, and restrain the drooping spirit, even in the saddest and humblest lot of life.

SUSANNA.

JAMES FORTEN'S LETTER.

Last week we noticed the death of the well-known and highly-respected James Forten, of Philadelphia. It will be interesting to his friends, at this time, to read the following letter from his pen. It was written to the Hon. George Thatcher; to thank him for presenting a petition, signed by seventy-four of the most respectable colored citizens of Philadelphia, remonstrating against the Fugitive Bill, passed by Congress, in 1773. The petition stated that the execution of this bill was "attended with circumstances peculiarly hard and distressing to many of their afflicted brethren; who are often hunted by armed men, and under color of this law, cruelly treated, shot, or brought back in chains, to those who have no just claim upon them."

It seems that the Supreme Court of the United States now comes in with a decision to prevent any State from guarding its free colored citizens from the execution of this unrighteous law of Congress!

PHILADELPHIA, January —, 1800.

SIR—When the hand of sorrow presses heavy on us, and the generality of mankind turn unpitying from our complaints, if one appears who feels for and commiserates our situation, and endeavors all in his power to alleviate our condition, our bosoms swell with gratitude, and our tongues instinctively pronounce our thanks for the obligation.

We therefore, sir, Africans, and descendants of that unhappy race, respectfully beg leave to thank you, for the philanthropic zeal with which you defended our cause, when it was brought before a part of the general government, by which only we can expect to be relieved from our deplorable state; interested ourselves in the business, because we knew not but ere long we might be reduced to slavery; it might have been said that we viewed the subject through a perverted medium, if you, sir, had not adopted and nobly supported those sentiments, which gave rise to our petition. Though our faces are black, yet we are men—and though many amongst us cannot write, because our rulers have thought proper to keep us in ignorance, yet we all have the feelings and passions of men, and are as anxious to enjoy the birthright of the human race, as those who, from our ignorance, draw an argument against our petition; when that petition has in view the diffusion of knowledge amongst the African race, by unfettering their thoughts, and giving full scope to the energy of their minds. While some, sir, consider us as much property as a house or a ship, and would seem to insinuate, that it is as lawful to hew down the one as it is to dismantle the other, you, sir, more humane, consider us as a part of the human race, and were we to go generally into the subject, would say, that by principles of natural law our thraldom is unjust. Judge what must be our feelings, to find ourselves treated as a species of property, and leveled with the brute creation—and think how anxious we must be to raise ourselves from this degrading state.

Unprejudiced persons, who read the documents in our possession, will acknowledge that we are miserable: Humane people will wish our situation alleviated: Just people will attempt the task: And powerful people ought to carry it into execution.

Seven hundred thousand of the human race were concerned in our petition; their thanks—their gratitude to you, they now express; their prayers for you will mount to Heaven: for God knows they are wretched, and will He hear their supplications!

A deep gloom now envelops us; but we derive some comfort from the thought that we are not quite destitute of friends—that there is one who will use his endeavors to free the slave from captivity; at least render his state more sufferable, and preserve the free black in the full enjoyment of his rights.

This address cannot increase the satisfaction you must derive, from your laudable exertions in the cause of suffering humanity, but it serves to show the gratitude and respect of those whose cause you espouse.

JAMES FORTEN.

The Hon. George Thatcher, M. C.

Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw.

One hundred copies of Mrs. Trollope's "Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw," have been imported from Europe, and are for sale at the *Anti-Slavery Office*, No. 31, North Fifth street, Philadelphia.

This book has a very high reputation, where no pro-slavery prejudices come in to obscure the judgment. It is a work of remarkable truth and power. The following, from the Leeds Mercury, is one of the many commendatory notices, which hailed its first appearance.

"This book is exceedingly clever, and surpasses anything the author has hitherto published. Her dialogues are full of spirit, and bear the genuine impress of the peculiarities of vulgar American dialect. In fact, in many parts of J. J. Whitlaw, she fairly emulates the masculine power of the best novel-writers in our language."

Philadelphia, March 3d, 1842.

Popular English Periodicals,

Republished in New-York

LONDON QUARTERLY, EDINBURGH, FOREIGN,
AND
WESTMINSTER REVIEWS:
Blackwood's and the Metropolitan MAGAZINES;
AND
BENTLEY'S MISCELLANY.

☞ The above periodicals continue to be published at *one-third the price of the English edition*, with the same fidelity which has been universally acknowledged to characterize their execution. They are exact reprints of the originals, and all the illustrations, however numerous, are given in almost every instance. The publisher wishes it to be distinctly understood that these periodicals are delivered to subscribers in the principal cities of the Union, *free of postage or other incidental expense*; the Magazines within the same month of their publication in England, and the Reviews immediately afterwards, with the utmost despatch.

TERMS.—The numbers of each work are issued separately, and are printed with good type on a large octavo page, and on paper of a superior quality. Blackwood's Magazine and Bentley's Miscellany are *fac similes* of the original works, and the size of the Metropolitan Magazine and the Reviews differs very little from the European editions, and their execution is quite as good in every particular.

For the four Reviews,	$8	For Blackwood's Mag.	$5
Three of them,	$7	Metropolitan,	$4
Two of them,	$5	Black. and Metrop.	$4
One of them,	$3	Bentley's Miscellany	$5

The four Reviews, Blackwood, Metropolitan, and Bentley's Miscellany, $20.

☞ All subscriptions payable in advance.

Published by JEMIMA M. MASON, (late LEWER,) Broadway, corner of Pine street, NEW-YORK; Otis, Broaders & Co. and Jordan & Co., *Boston*; Weare C. Little, *Albany*; J. R. Pollock, *Philadelphia*; N. Hickman, *Baltimore*; J. Gill, *Richmond*; W. M. Morrison *Washington*; W. H. Berritt, *Charleston*; W. T. Williams, *Savannah*; J. F. Curns & Co. *New Orleans and Mobile*. General agent or Canada, John Nimmo.

LOCAL AGENTS FOR THE STANDARD.

EDWARD M. DAVIS, Philadelphia, Penn.
J. MILLER M'KIM, " "
WM. APLIN, Providence, R. I.
LORRIN WHITING, New Marlborough, Mass.
LUTHER MYRICK, Cazenovia, N. Y.
W. C. BLOSS, Rochester, N. Y.
JAMES COOPER, Williamson, Wayne Co., N. Y.
PLINY